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POLICY FOR 1970'S TOWARD 'FREEDOM MOVEMENTS' EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 9 Oct 81 p 2

Report from Berlin: "GDR Intends to Cooperate More Closely with 'Freedom Movements."

A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article cited below follows this commentary.

/Text/ "In the struggle against imperialism" the GDR intends even more closely to cooperate with the "liberation movements" and "progressive nations" in Asia, Africa and Latin America. That was proclaimed in the latest edition of the East Berlin periodical DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK (No 10, 1981). Cooperation of the socialist countries with the "liberation movements" is said "to have decisively changed the international balance of power, so that the joint struggle in the 1980's may be conducted from far stronger positions than ever before," the journal emphasized. Nevertheless, the full exploitation of these positions required "an even greater extent of internationally coordinated action." The SED would do everything in its power to help this advance.

In this connection the East Berlin periodical rejects Western concepts which make the further pursuit of detente dependent on the maintenance of the international political and social status quo and demand "restraint" from the socialist countries, especially in regions in crisis. It is claimed that the "internationalist politics" of the socialist countries and "their support for the war of liberation" offend neither the spirit nor the principles of international detente, rather do they narrow the "scope for aggressive imperialist actions."

SED Academician's Discussion

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 26 No 10, Oct 81(signed to press 3 Sep 81) pp 5-15

Lead article by Prof Dr Gerhard Powik, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "GDR's Internationalist Positions in the 1980's." A translation of Hermann Axen's article cited in footnote 9 is published under the heading, "Axen on Proletarian Internationalism in Light of October Revolution," in JPRS 70417, 5 Jan 78, No 1492 of this series, pp 14-277

Text Thanks to the momentous work done by the working class, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and all working people in the GDR which celebrates its

32d anniversary this month, the Tenth SED Congress was able to draw up a satisfact- ' ory balance sheet. Relying on creativity and initiative the Tenth SED Congress sketched the GDR's path in the 1980's. The results achieved and the further goals in the organization of the developed socialist society embody the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism which are of the essence of SED politics. Everything we do for the construction of the socialist society in the GDR is also done for the further strengthening of the socialist community and the revolutionary world movement. The GDR has always met its national and international obligations in the serious class conflict with imperialism. At the present time also, in the presence of the complications conjured up by the confrontation politics of imperialism and its threat to peace and the peoples of the world, the GDR is demonstrably a stable pillar of peace and socialism in Europe, a socialist country linked indisputably to the main revolutionary power of our age, which is conscious of its role and obligation at the border between socialism and imperialism. The great esteem the GDR therefore enjoys among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces worldwide was reflected in the attendance of 125 foreign delegations at the Tenth SED Congress and their moving words of praise for our party and its internationalist policies.

As Erich Honecker assured the foreign delegations in his concluding address, we thereby feel "confirmed in our regard for the common cause. You may be sure that the SED will always do its duty in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity."

As the conscious and organized advance guard of the working class of the working people in the socialist German Democratic Republic the SED carries out "the tasks and targets of the revolutionary workers movement established by Marx, Engels and Lenin." It is part of the international communist movement and "firmly stands on the soil of proletarian internationalism" the spirit and principle of which permeate the entire theory and practice of the SED.

The Tenth SED Congress started from the assumption that the SED will be confronted in the 1980's with new and more advanced tasks from the national as well as the international aspect. For the SED, as for all fraternal parties of the socialist community, the new and higher criteria for its internationalist efforts arise forst of all from the advanced standard of social development achieved, the greater weight of socialism in the international arena, the advances and successes of the other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. In the common struggle against imperialism they achieved outstanding results already in the past decades. As regards their work of construction, the defense of peace and the independence of the peoples, the socialist countries have accomplished results of great historical import in the 1970s/ At the beginning of the 1980's the Soviet Union and the countries closely linked to it enjoy an unprecedented international consequence and influence.

Increased therefore is the responsibility of the countries of real socialism in the worldwide sharp conflicts regarding the issues vital for mankind. Most of all that applies to the security of peace which more and more represents the focus of the tremendous struggle. Here we see ever more clearly that peace and socialism are identical. Socialist constructions rises by the diligent and creative work of the people and, in order to increasingly benefit all, it needs peace. We also see ever more clearly that the parties interested in the arms race and the imperialist spirit of aggression involved therein represent a terrible danger to mankind.

The transition to a policy of confrontation, threats and boycotts by imperialist circles, especially in the United States, demonstrates that imperialism has not changed its nature and remains a constant source of danger to peace. These forces are not willing to accept the realities of the modern world, the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the successes of the national liberation movement and the growing strength of the forces of social progress. Their strategy of confrontation is directed to the removal of the present approximate military balance of power and to the establishment of military superiority over the countries of socialism. Openly and without scruples they pronounce entire continents their spheres of interest, threaten the sovereignty and independence of other states and interfere in their internal affairs, whether this be in the Near and Middle East, the Caribbean or Europe. Their machinations threaten to destroy much of what was achieved in the way of detente and progress in the 1980's.

The extent of the dangers again threatening peace, security and the advance of the peoples may be discerned from the nuclear first strike strategy decided upon by the American Administration, the immense rearmament projects and adventurism of their foreign politics, the threats and attempts at blackmail. That is why there is no more important task in the 1980's than to maintain peace, defend and pursue detente, put a stop to the arms race, in other words defeat the imperialist politics of confrontation and bring about the thorough and long-term recovery of the world situation. That is the challenge of the 1980's, that must be the focus of the efforts and goals of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. So to phrase the issue does not mean the abandonment of the class conflict standpoint, does not mean that we should subordinate the class struggle to the struggle for peace. In complete agreement with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties the SED considers the struggle for peace the core of its international activities, the reason being that the politics of confrontation represent the main danger not only to the survival of mankind but, directly, also to economic and social development, progress and the freedom of the peoples. In the current international situation detente, the defense and stabilization of peace are not only prerequisites for social progress, they are themselves part and parcel of this progress.

As the issue of war and peace is the main issue of present international developments, it is up to socialism to act as the main force in the struggle for the prevention of a thermo-nuclear disaster, in other words for saving our civilization from annihilation. In so doing it secures the necessary external conditions for the accomplishment of the tasks confronting the socialist countris and, at the same time, settles a problem of truly international dimensions. These two related aspects are also reflected in the foreign policy line adopted by the Tenth SED Congress. The GDR makes its own the peace program submitted to the Twenty-Sixth CPSU Congress, because it shows the approach to the defeat of the imperialist line of confrontation, the warding off of the danger of nuclear war and to again advancing detente. We thereby respond to the basic interests of our people and, at the same time, to the GDR's international responsibilities on the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Starting from socialism's mission of peace and our national interests, the SED Congress therefore made a point of emphasizing the following as the principal target of foreign policy: "Purposeful extension of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community..., setting course toward the all-round strengthening and increase of the international attraction of socialism."

After all, the socialist community of nations is the main support of the positive basic trend in international development. On the further growth of their strength, their solidarity, the increasingly perfect evolution of the benefits of socialism, largely depends the fate of their peace strategy.

It was emphasized at the Tenth SED Congress that progress and peace are certainly not divisible at this time. We see this very clearly in the nature and the targets of the two opposing basic trends of international development.

The champions of the imperialist line of confrontation candidly state that they wish to make peace, detente and peaceful coexistence dependent on the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the world, on the "good behavior" of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in international affairs, on their renunciation of international support for the just liberation struggles of the peoples, in other words on the socialist countries more or less offering a guarantee for untrammeled imperialist expansion, control and exploitation of the peoples.

This reflects the Western admission that internationalist solidarity of, in particular, the socialist countries has turned into a powerful factor for worldwide social progress.

Obviously the most reactionary imperialist circles fear most of all the effect of proletarian internationalism, involuted by the power of socialism, the cooperation, reciprocal solidarity and support of all anti-imperialist forces. The potency of this principle in the new international realities as a real power in the defense of peace and the implementation of social progress is to be offset by playing the card of a nuclear first strike, the reckless handling of the military bludgeon against the peoples.

This same logic of imperialist power politics is also at the base of the hypocritical justifications of Western politicians and media when they assert that it had been the Soviet Union's solidarity with revolutionary Afghanistan and its subsequent military aid which had exacerbated the international situation and put detente at risk. Years ago already help for newly liberated Angola against South African intervention had been similarly described and "restraint" demanded of the socialist countries.

Basically all this is designed to obfuscate the imperialist policy of aggression and interference while slandering international solidarity in the consciousness of the peoples as expansionism, intervention, as actions threatening peace. At the same time self-sacrificing internationalist aid is depicted as running counter to the peoples longing for peace.

Do the internationalist politics of the socialist countries, their support for the peoples battles for liberation really endanger peace, do they offend against the spirit and the principles of international detente, are international solidarity and peaceful coexistence contradictory?

Our answer must be a decided no. If we accepted this false alternative, we would have to consider irreconcilable peace on the one hand and the freedom and progress of the peoples on the other. In that case we would subject all peoples to the dictate of imperialism and its policy of robbery and exploitation, which has always been the real cause of tension, conflict and war.

Peace is not threatened by the struggle of the peoples for independence, freedom and the achievement of full powers over their natural wealth, for equality in international economic relations also, nor by the victories they score for their just cause. In fact their growing power and successes strengthen the cause of peace, narrow the scope for aggressive imperialist actions. The victory of the Vietnamese people and its reunification served peace not only in East Asia but all over the world; a dangerously smoldering source of conflict was removed. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique ended a long-standing colonial war and strengthened the cause of peace in southern Africa. The Iranian revolution destroyed a regime which international monopoly capital had invested with the role of military guardian against the peoples of the region. Aided by worldwide solidarity the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea achieved victory over all agressors as well as internal reaction. The dearly bought victory of the peoples in the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Yemen, Zimbabwe and other countries represents a powerful contribution to the cause of the liberation of mankind.

The popular revolutions in Afghanistan, Iran, Nicaragua and Grenada destroyed important fortresses of despotism and opened the door to freedom for these peoples. New impetus was given the struggle against unpopular fascist and military-fascist regimes in El Salvador, Bolivia, Chile and South Korea.

At the very core of the principles of detente, the policy of peaceful coexistence, is the renunciation of the use and threat of the use of force, absolute respect for the unrestricted right of the peoples to self-determination. This totally agrees with the nature and goals of proletarian internationalism. On the other hand it runs counter completely to the nature of imperialism and its urge toward aggression and violence, its practice of interference and intervention, the export of counter-revolution which is the order of the day in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe—everywhere in fact where imperialism considers its unpopular interests and goals threatened.

The SED and the GDR altogether will always unreservedly take the side of the fighters against imperialism, colonialism and for national liberation on all continents. Together with the progressive forces the world over we aided the Vietnamese people in its struggle against U.S.aggression, the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos and Angola's fight for independence just as the struggles of other peoples who are defending their right to national sovereignty and social progress and making resolute use of the sovereignty and independence achieved. Their word is increasingly weighty in the decisions about the great issues of our age.

Ww all know that the countries of the socialist community send internationalist aid to the progressive countries. They support them in matters of politics and increasingly send economic and scientific-technological aid. Up to now the GDR has handed over to these countries 500 objects, complete factories, equipment, plant and educational facilities. "We concentrated mutually beneficial cooperation on such areas as are crucial for the conquest of economic backwardness, the achievement and consolidation of economic independence."

CEMA aid goes to 86 nationally liberated countries; 4,400 projects were planned, 3,000 of which are already in operation (745 with GDR involvement). Our country's

solidarity fund is replenished every year by about M200 in voluntary contributions from the working people. They are used for gifts of aid merchandise, the financing of medical treatment and the training of cadres.

Socialism's contribution to the settlement of these countries problems is even more extensive. Due to its grown strength and increasing international influence, real socialism restrains imperialist striving for world domination. Socialism has greatly expanded the radius of action of these states. Cooperation between the states of the socialist community and the countries liberated from the yoke of colonialism is based on such standards of international law as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The SED actively encourages the strengthening of the GDR's close alliance with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. Our state now entertains diplomatic relations with 87 countries of these regions. Since 1971 it has concluded more than 350 government treaties and agreements as well as agreements at ministerial level. They represent a sound contractual basis for deepening reciprocal relations.

It is therefore evident that the basic interests of real socialism and the national liberation movements are tightly interlinked in the struggle for peace and social progress, against imperialism. Their cooperation has crucially changed the international balance of power, so that their joint struggle in the 1980's way be conducted from far stronger positions than ever before. However, utilization of these positions requires an even greater extent of internationall coordinated approaches. After the Tenth SED Congress the SED will continue to do everything in its power to promote this goal.

"International solidarity with all peoples fighting for their freedom remains the supreme law of our actions. All peoples who struggle for national and social liberation, for independence, democracy and progress will be able in future also to count on the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic."

By their attendance at the party congress the foreign delegations demonstrated that they hold the GDR's solidarity in great esteem; after all, they rely on aid from the socialist countries for the victory of their just cause.

The course and results of the Tenth SED Congress and the great international attention it received from the progressive forces the world over bear witness to the growth and cooperation of the three great revolutionary mainstreams of our age, bear witness to the unbroken vitality of proletarian internationalism in our age and are a constructive contribution so to develop the cooperation of communist and workers parties in all suitable forms that the communist movement may do even better justice to the demands of the age.

The SED never considered proletarian internationalism as a principle of the exclusiveness of the communist parties. On the contrary-proletarian internationalism serves it as well as all Marxist-Leninist parties to develop widespread cooperation with all forces of the workers movement, all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the world, including the national liberation movements.

An outstanding example was the international scientific conference held in Berlin on the topic "the common struggle of the workers movement and the national liberation movement against imperialism, for social progress." This was attended by senior delegates from 116 communist and workers parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements from 103 countries. It was the largest and broadest ever meeting of its kind in the history of the revolutionary movement. The organization and results of this conference responded to the profound needs of the anti-imperialist struggle in our age and evidenced the urge of the revolutionary forces to cooperate and act in common for common goals.

The SED holds that the rise in the requirements on internationalism, the growth of the tasks and duties common to all revolutionary forces on the international level has objective causes. This process is profoundly rooted in the inevitabilities of social development, the process of the international class conflict.

What is the result of the rapidly advancing internationalization of the class conflict for the relation between international and national considerations in SED politics? Does the rise in international tasks proceed at the expense of national interests, does it require a "scaling down" of national aspects, the subordination of national interests to superior goals and requirements?

Hostile ideologues continue to insinuate that the SED holds such a rigid interpretation of internationalism as to contradict national interests. However, such an interpretation of internationalism is entirely foreign to the nature of our politics, the traditions of our party and its goals. Our party is at all times conscious of its responsibilities to our own people as well as to the international working class. This is not to say that the unity of national and international aspects arises spontaneously in the politics of our party and the actions of every communist party. Properly to link these two aspects—that is the art and the duty, the central issue of truly internationalist politics.

In the conditions of the complex class conflict it is certainly not always easy to reconcile the specific national and common international interests. To achieve this requires the Marxist-Leninist parties basically always to start from the class interests of the working class. This class interest always includes national as well as international aspects. After all, there is an objective unity of class interests of the proletarist on the national and international level. The fundsmental issue, therefore, does not consist in replacing specific national aspects by common international aspects, or vice versa. Instead it is imperative to produce the proper connection between these two aspects. From the very beginning that requirement was particularly crucial for SED politics. As in all other socialist countries, the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the GDR was the basic condition for the construction of socialism. In the course of its organization and exercise as well as its steady consolidation the SED always endeavored to take into account historial and national features and find appropriate specific solutions while carrying out and observing the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution. That resulted, for example, in the survival of several parties, the methods of cooperation between the SED and the other democratic parties. When nationalizing the means of production, the general inevitabilities were again applied to our actual national conditions. This included the fact, for example, that land was not nationalized, that state investment in small and medium private industrial

enterprises gradually conducted these enterprises to socialism without expropriation. In socialist farming we have developed specific types suitable for the introduction of industrial production methods and the linking of industry and agriculture.

The increasingly close links between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community were and are an indispensable basic condition of the successful construction of the socialist society. Nor can the socialist society in the GDR develop without, with the leadership of the SED, constantly coping with its own tasks in all areas of social life, seeking and finding new ways and means of accomplishing those tasks which respond to the specific conditions of our country.

Firmly rooted in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and utilizing their experiences, the Tenth SED Congress directed us to do everything to expand the economic base of our country, pursue the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and thus contribute to the strengthening of socialism, the improvement of its stability and international attraction. Precisely by its close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries the GDR is able even in the changed conditions of the 1980's to guarantee its stable and dynamic development as a firm element of the socialist community of nations. In this dialectic interrelation the SED's internationalist line accords with Lenin's demand fully to exploit all internal opportunities for the consolidation and greatest possible development of socialism and communism within the country and, at the same time, for the support and evolution of the revolutionary struggle in the world as a whole.

It would therefore be very one-sided if we were to restrict the struggle and the responsibility of a Marxist-Leninist party entirely to the struggle and the revolution or construction of the new social order in the home country.

Above and beyond this it has other internationalist obligations respecting the concern for consolidating the unity of the socialist world system, concern for the development of the worldwide revolutionary process, the effective and common struggle against imperialism. Needed, therefore, is the correct balance of all national and international factors in the respective concrete situation, from the standpoint of the overall interests of the working class, the overall interests of socialism and communism. It is precisely this unity of national and international interests which is featured in the Tenth SED Congress resolutions, in the SED's strategy and policies for the 1980's.

The development of the revolutionary anti-imperialist popular movements in the world, the great example of our socialist community of nations as an alliance of a totally new type demonstrate and constantly reaffirm that internationalism on the one hand and independence of the peoples on the other postulate one another. Our own experiences in the CDR prove to us each day that the indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm roots of the CDR in the community of socialist nations remains for our people the stable foundation of its independence, security and success in the organization of the developed socialist society. These facts refute the assertion by imperialist ideologues that loyalty to proletarian internationalism and independence are mutually exclusive. The intention is so to represent things as if the affirmation of loyalty to the Soviet Union and the CPSU amounted to the surrender of independence. Criticism of the Soviet Union,

distancing from Lenin's party, the social socialist reality in the USSR and its politics, on the other hand, are considered the criterion of independence and orginality.

At the conclusion of the Tenth SED Congress Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, emphasized: "Our party... is tied for good to the party of Lenin, the communist party of the Soviet Union." In fact the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR have become allies, comrades-at-arms and friends. At the same time we are further developing our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union in all areas. The focus is on the even closer interrelation of the material and intellectual potentials of our two countries for coping with the tasks ranging far into the future. The long-range program of specialization and cooperation in production through 1990, agreed between the USSR and the GDR, is directed to the settlement of such important issues of the present and the future as stable energy and raw material supplies and the constantly more effective coupling of the benefits of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

The fact that the deepening of relations leads to the increasing rapprochement of our peoples is demonstrated by the contacts established in the most varied fields and include many personal relations. All these serve to solidify our unity. The increasing similarity of the tasks and problems to be settled in both countries make it possible and indeed challenge us to exploit and apply our positive experiences even better and more usefully. From the standpoint of the USSR developments in the GDR, for example, supply valuable experiences regarding the rationalization of production and the conservation of energy, raw materials and other materials. When paying its respects to the successful balance sheet displayed at the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress, our party emphasized that the practical long-standing experiences of the CPSU are gaining increased importance for the conscious application of the fundamental inevitabilities of socialist and communist construction. In other words, the practice of real socialism in the USSR reaffirms the basic principle of our party, established in its program, according to which the attitude to the CPSU and the USSR is the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our attitude to the Soviet Union is decided by the following three basic considerations:

- -- The extent of social progress achieved in the Soviet Union;
- -- The role played by Lenin's party and fatherland within the revolutionary movement;
- -- The power and influence exercised by the Soviet Union on the international balance of power and the fate of mankind.

For more than 60 years the USSR has proven itself the most powerful and decisive pioneer of social progress, the chief fortress of socialism and communism, the standard bearer in the struggle for peace.

Our party always considered it an enormous advantage to be able to build socialism in the GDR in firm alliance with the land of Red October. In realization of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions it will multiply its efforts in order, at the side

of the CPSU and the USSR as well as the other fraternal parties and countries of rhw socialist community, to conduct the struggle against imperialist confrontation politics, for peace, independence and the progress of the peoples, for the prosperity of our socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

- Concluding address by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the Tenth SED Congress, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 17 April 1981.
- 2. "Program der SED" /SED Program/, Berlin 1976, p 6.
- 3. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED" /SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress7, Berlin 1981, p 31.
- 4. Ibid, pp 29f.
- See "Studienhinweise fuer die Seminare: Grundprobleme des Revolutionseren Weltprozesses. Parteilehrjahr der SED 1980/1981" /Study Suggestions for Seminare: Basic Problems of the Revolutionary World Process. SED Party School Year 1980/ 1981, Berlin 1980, pp 60f.
- 6. "SED Central Committee Report...," as before, p 6.
- 7. Concluding address by Erich Honecker, as before.
- 8. See "SED Program," as before, p 70.
- 9. Ibid, pp 11f; H. Axen, "The Great October and Proletarian Internationalism Today," EINHEIT, Berlin 1977, No 10/11, p 1156.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DUTCH VIEW OF PEACE MOVEMENT WITHIN GDR CHURCH

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch Vol 37 No 41, 10 Oct 81 pp 70-72, 77-78

[Last of three articles on recent peace movement activities in The Netherlands, the FRG and the GDR, by Rex Brico, head, 'Religion, Man and Society' department, ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE: "Hopeful Signs from the GDR: Peace at All Costs--Profile of a Movement"]

[Text] After the fusion of the Dutch peace movement with the IKV [Interchurch Peace Council] campaign, the "Dutch Disease" [antinuclear arms sentiment] spread particularly to the FRG, as shown by the previous two articles in this series. This third and last installment describes the manner in which the peace movement in the GDR is determined through both ideologic and Christian initiatives. The latter initiatives, however, are the ones which are getting the support of the churches.

"I am drawing attention to the monopolized mass media (in the West) because they often hamper objective reporting on important events which are aimed at securing peace. In the current discussions on armament, in particular with respect to the NATO resolution on modernization and the American neutron weapons, the reports are primarily publications by those newspaper empires which are trying to justify the course of armament and discriminate against its opponents."

The man who makes this judgment is Hubertus Guske, editor-in-chief of BEGEGNUNG, a magazine for "Catholics in the church and in society." The place where it is being given is a press center in East Berlin where a meeting is taking place of the so-called BK -- the Berlin Conference of European Catholics. Mr Guske is one of the four speakers at this meeting which deals with "communication and action of catholics in the service of peace."

Just how Roman Catholic is this BK? Not too terribly Roman, for according to rumors the Vatican representative, who was to attend the event, withdrew at the last moment at the instigation of the [West] German bishops. This absence does not, however, keep Mr Guske from putting Johannes Paulus II extensively in the forefront of his argument. In his message of 31 May this year the Pope, namely, warned of the danger of manipulation in communication. Guske concludes that that can only refer to the Western media, for those are hampered by "commercialization,

pursuit of profit and concentration." In the GDR, he says, there is neither official press censorship, nor are there rules concerning the content of papers and magazines.

Apparently it doesn't bother Mr Guske that there are a few Western journalists in the hall who only a few weeks previously attended the meeting of the World Council of Churches which was held in Dresden, GDR this year. Even the most uncritical among them were able to determine there how every word of criticism of the GDR or the Soviet Union, no matter how implicit, was left out of local press reports, even if quotations had to be cut up for that. On the other hand, the slightest criticism of the United States or NATO was emphasized so much that the meeting looked more like an anti-Western rally than like a world church meeting.

In all fairness, it must be admitted that Mr Guske was not representative of the speakers and discussion circles at the BK meeting. Among them there were also a Pax Christi [Catholic Peace Movement] representative in the person of Father Donald O'Mahoney, who said aloud that the church in the Eastern bloc "must be given the freedom to deliver its message, and the social implications of the message, to the people without fear of censorship, which undoubtedly exists." There was also the Polish journalist Anna Maria Borowska, who stated that there could not be peace without justice and that justice has failed to exist in her country for 30 years. "We must also talk about social factors which prepare for a war." said Mrs Borowska. And then there was the Irish journalist, Louis McRedmond, who vented his ire about the views in which the opponent is pictured as black and one's own party as white. He called it "a sin against the Holy Ghost." Whoever expected this sort of remark to be included in the final report, however, was sorely mistaken. In it, one talked exclusively about the good peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the nastiness of the United States and NATO. It was this final report which the next day was sent onto the socialist radio network on all wavelengths by the GDR rado. It indeed resembled a sin against the Holy Ghost.

Although in general one cannot expect a much different line from the BK than that which is laid out by the governments of the Eastern bloc, the line of the BK's reformed-orthodox equivalent, the (Prague) Christian Peace Conference, CFK, is not much different. First the CFK approved of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan; later, under the influence of discussions with Western participants, it withdrew the approval. The value of peace movements such as the BK and CFK is therefore more at the level of personal meetings than in the public standpoints through which they address the world. Those public standpoints don't serve much but communist propaganda, while for many Eastern European church people the meetings form the only opportunity to exchange ideas with others without being censored.

Communist propaganda in the Eastern bloc actually abuses the desire for peace in such a flagrant manner that even the word alone has been devaluated into a hollow cliche. Everywhere in East German cities life-size slogans are to be seen in which peace is identified with both state socialism and the state itself. And not only there. A priest from another Eastern bloc country tells me in the hallways of the BK congress that his countrymen merely shrug their shoulders when peace campaigns are discussed. "Over here the feeling predominates that the Soviets determine that peace and that we are completely powerless in it," he says. "We have been badgered with the word peace for so many years that it no longer makes

any impression on us." Not even if the (Roman Catholic) Church exerts itself for that peace? I ask. A bitter smile appears on his face. "We often think that people from the state, that is to say Marxist officials from the department of culture, have more understanding and feeling for what the Second Vatican Council has proclaimed than do our own bishops," he says. "Those bishops are thinking in completely pre-council terms, to the extent they can think at all. They know nothing of theology and have no contact whatsoever with the people. The only body with which they maintain contact is Rome. I myself have been criticized a number of times by my bishop because I talked and wrote about peace. That is not part of a priest's duty, he says. Our church is headed by a hierarchy of bureaucrats."

Does all this mean that there are no Christians in the Eastern bloc who really exert themselves for peace and that peace is not discussed? The answer ist "no." That was apparent, for example, during a so-called ecumenical coffee in Dresden, organized by the reformed clergywoman Be Ruys. During this coffee, where the American World Council Adviser Dwain Epps, our former General M. von Meyenfeldt and the East German physicist Dr Walter Romberg answered questions of young Christians, the latter noted an increasing frankness in the GDR with respect to questions about peace and also a growing willingness to go into those questions more profoundly. During this session Dr Romberg even pleaded for the GDR to consider unilateral initiatives also, after the Dutch model, in order to come to bilateral disarmament. He called such an initiative the abandoning of arms systems which in case of war could be turned into nuclear systems (for there are no permanently stationed nuclear arms or nuclear warheads on GDR territory).

It was not the first time that Dr Walter Romberg stuck out his neck for effective peace initiatives in his own country. Although he is a member of the CFK mentioned earlier, in 1977 he initiated a disarmament task force which since that time has played a much more believable role than the CFK or the aforementioned BK. The task force was an outcome of the Theologic Study Division, which was founded in 1974 and financed by the Federation of Evangelic Churches in the GDR. Already at the time of its founding, the disarmament task force asked itself how the churches in the GDR would be able to take an independent position in a responsible manner with respect to the armament and disarmament question. In any event, they did not think that the answer was in conforming to or identifying with the standpoints of the state on that. Then where? In the very same year, a so-called Problem Outline was drawn up which did not really give a conclusive answer, but which in any event indicated the direction in which the churches should go. The latter would have to give higher priority to an analysis of the social, social-psychological and anthropological factors which govern armament. The problem outline itself utilized political-military analyses based -- particularly -- on the Stockholm peace foundation SIPRI. In it, the task force came to similar conclusions as the IKV had in the Netherlands, namely that negotiations in practice lead only to ceilings and not to disarmament, that technology has an increasing influence on arms production, and that proliferation of nuclear arms is alarmingly close at hand.

That similarity to the IKF was not coincidental; inspired by the nuclear arms statement of the Dutch Reformed Synod of 1963, Walter Romberg sought contact with the Dutch peace council already in 1977-78. And it was in conjunction with this peace council that his disarmament task force in May 1980 wrote a joint letter to Dr Philip Potter, secretary-general of the World Council of churches.

For it was the World Council which during its assembly in Nairobi (1975) had created an anti-militarism program which summoned Christians to live without the protection of arms. In this letter of the IKV and the task force both parties appealed to their states to consider "unilateral first steps, even if a risk should be attached." Further, the letter writers stated that they "would not participate in a war which would be waged with such (nuclear) arms. We understand this pronouncement as the now unavoidable consequence of a peace testimonial which is based on the liberating gospel of God's acting through Jesus Christ.

The letter was an implicit answer -- which can be called unique in the offic...
documents of churches in Eastern Europe -- to the so-called Heidelberg Theses
which had started to prevail in the FRG and which stated that Christians could
fight for peace either with or without nuclear arms (see last week's ELSEVIERS).
However, the World Council of Churches did not understand it as such and limited
itself to a polite thank-you note. We might says in contrast to the religious
press in the GDR which published the letter in detail.

Meanwhile the Reformed Synod in our country had adopted the so-called "pastoral letter" with regard to nuclear arms, with which this synod aligned itself behind the IKV campaign entitled: "Nuclear Arms out of the World, starting with the Netherlands." The Synod also sent this letter to the earlier mentioned Theologic Study Division in Berlin, which in turn sent it to the eight regional churches in the GDR, as well as to a number of parishes and groups. In an accompanying letter the division wrote: "Through this statement we feel encouraged to do our utmost for our churches' again taking up this question after much hesitation and for the seeking of a solution which is based on belief and obedience." The Study Division moreover adopted a statement last March in which it argued in favor of the route of the Dutch Reformed Church and in which it stated very concretely this time: "We are of the opinion that an initiative taken in consultation with the allies of the Warsaw Pact to abandon arms systems with nuclear tasks in the GDR must be aspired to as a step toward the denuclearization of Europe." The intention of the statement was to give an answer to the Dutch synod and simultaneously to provoke a type of parallelism or symmetry with it: a church initiative toward a unilateral step in Eastern Europe as a reaction to a similar sort of initiative in Western Europe. However, the statement clearly went too far for the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. It accused the theologic division of having created the impression that the entire Federation was behind the statement and of having created concrete political expectations which for the time being had no basis. "Before we endorse this, there will have to be a lot more discussion," one bishop said. On the other hand, the statement found strong resonance during a religious peace consultation in Berlin-Brandenburg at the beginning of April. Was the government just as enthusiastic? A collaborator: "Probably not. On the other hand, the government knows very well that the ecumenical discussion on disarmament is becoming a European fact. And I suspect that it is possible to swallow the political context, in spite of its critical elements. Moreover, it meves at a certain level; it is not an issue of the common man." Not an issue, or /as yet/ not an issue?

It may be obvious why the Dutch IKV has made neither the BK nor the CFK an ally -- as the Christians for Socialism desired and aspired to explicitly -- but has, however, made the above mentioned Theologic Study Division an ally.

Dr Mient Jan Faber [secretary of the IKV]: "Organizations such as the BK or CFK have adopted too much of the black-and-white thinking of the ruling systems in the Eastern bloc countries to be able to look at the matter critically. Therefore the evangelical churches in the GDR are not participating either. Those churches accept the fact that they are churches within socialism; they do not resist it, but they do not accept everything from it either. They are one of the very few not too highly structured mass organizations in the Eastern bloc which are taking an independent position. They have attained that position because they often kept quiet in the past. But now they feel that they can no longer be silent on certain issues. Certainly not in matters of security and peace which often are determined by the state in a strongly ideological manner. Of course an institute such as the Theologic Study Division must take much more time in making decisions than we; they are much more vulnerable. We cannot simply transfer our position to theirs. But through that we learn a lot from them also. For example, their joy over a sentence in the pastoral letter in which it is recognized that one can be a Christian in any system. That was terribly important to them, precisely because many people think that one can be a Christian only here."

It is difficult to record the initiatives taking place within those churches in the creating of consciousness and other areas. This is, thus a religious official explained to me, because there are few cross connections between the groups who take those initiatives. The ties are primarily vertical, between the church leadership of a province and the membership. That church leadership must be as informed as possible in order to be able to account for as much as possible. The latter they often do courageously and persistently. Thus, in May this year a number of young Christians from Saksen appealed to their parishes in seeking a so-called /social peace service/ [in italics]. Already since 1964 the GDR has been acquainted with the function of Bausoldaten [construction soldiers] for those who have to join the army but don't want to bear arms. These Bausoldaten wear uniforms and are kept busy with military projects. In the past the latter were often military construction activities; at present they usually are functions in an infrastructure, such as provisions etc. The social peace service, which wants the young people mentioned, is a civilian duty, however, and is supposed to take place in health and welfare care. Bishop Johannes Hempel of Dresden, in whose diocese the young people live, listened to them, named their calling entirely evangelical and promised to bring up the matter at the next session of the synod. Before that took place, however, Secretary of State Klaus Gysi announced publicly that there was no possibility for that type of substitute military service. Nevertheless, the synod of Gustrow, which took place the week before last, supported the request of the youth by a great majority.

Already 3 years ago the Federation of Evangelical Churches fiercely opposed the introduction of military education which currently threatens to be expanded to secondary education. And last September the Federation unanimously adopted the statement of a peace seminar in which the military education of the East German youth was fiercely attacked. In the same statement a 1965 pronouncement of the evangelical churches was recalled in which the Bausoldaten service and conscientious objection were pictured as "a clear testimonial of the peace commandment of our Lord." The protests of the Federation had -- and still have -- a profound effect on the parishes, where military toys were recently burned during services as a symbolic action against the military education.

Of course some evangelic bishops in the GDR are more frank than others. Thus Bishop Werner Krusche of Magdeborg, who last week succeeded Bishop Schonherr of Berlin-Brandeburg as chairman of the Federation, gave a speech in Frankfurt am Main last December which not only must have been heard with bewilderment by the governments of both Germanies, but also by the majority of the [West] German bishops, both Roman Catholic and Evangelic. After a short analysis of the military-political situation in the world, comparable to that of the IKF, Bishop Schonherr [as published] asked whether the churches must let themselves be led exclusively by that which seemed politically feasible. "Is that which is realistic really only that which the government considers feasible? Is a rational policy only that policy which emanates from the ruling standpoints? Or should we, being the church, make it clear how realistic a peace policy could be which sticks to the promise of Jesus that the weak -- thus those who don't build on a policy of strength and threats -- will inherit the earth?" Bishop Heinrich Rathke of Schwerin recently even went so far as to accuse those who use the word "pacifist" as a swearword. "Pacifists must prepare for peace; we need such people," said Rathke.

Even if bishops of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR cannot always adjust to the tempo of their Theologic Study Division, it is fairly certain that they help propel the peace movement inspired by that division by word and deed, and that in so doing they exhibit a clearness which not only provides Christians in the Eastern bloc with some prospect, but also Christians in the West who find it difficult to believe that a peace movement is possible on the other side of the curtain. The spirit of peace blows where it wants to.

8700 CSO: 3105/22

KANT'S PHILOSOPHY VIEWED AS 'SOURCE OF MARXISM'

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Sep 81 'WIR' Supplement p 2

['Past and Current History' feature article by Prof Dr Siegfried Wollgast, Technical University, Dresden: "Prepared the Way for Dialectical Thinking — 200th Anniversary of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason's]

Text Appearing in Riga in 1781 was a work by Koenigsberg philosophy professor Immanuel Kant, who had labored over the text for nearly 10 years. This "Critique of Pure Reason" seems to have appeared too "erudite" for many a reader of the time, so the author decided in 1783 to publish an interpretation of his principal work ("Prolegomena to Any Puture Metaphysics"). Thus the second edition of the "Critique of Pure Reason" (in 1787) was the one that led to world remown for Eant, whose name commands the greatest respect to this day.

'German Theory of the French Revolution'

In terms of the philosophy of emlightenment, human reason is for East the standard by which (irrational) reality is measured. East critiques reason itself, examines its capacity, its limits.

Kant treats of bourgeois reason, which was directed against feudality in general and its ideology in particular. His interest therefore lies in a "free and public examination" of religion and its feudal laws.

In the process he comes to this conclusion: The existence of God cannot be proven. Kant refutes once and for all the so-called ontological proof of God in which theologists and philosophers had invested so such sagacity. This proof holds that the concept of the absolute being must of necessity subrace the existence of same; otherwise the absolute would be imperfect — would thus not be absolute. Kant destroys this sophistic argument by demonstrating that existence can never be "picked out" of the concept by itself. A hundred real talers — taken as a concept — cannot possibly comprise more than 100. But it makes a big difference whether I have them only in my head or in my pocket. Thus, the existence of God cannot be deduced from the existence of the concept of God; but God does not exist in our own experience, so his existence cannot be proven. It follows that theology, the doctrine that has made him its object, can make no claim to being scientific in nature.

Kant's attack on the altar also shook the throne, mince the feudal rulers based their sovereign rights on the grace of God. Heinrich Heine held Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" in high esteem precisely because of its religious criticism.

Karl Marx paid tribute to Kant's philosophy as a "German theory of the French Revolution," thus emphasizing the basic social and political orientation of the Kant critique. By characterizing it as a specifically German theory, he gives expression to the limits and inconsistencies — caused by Germany's backward conditions — of Kant's critique of religion and feudality, for this criticism remained confined to the framework of the theoretical and ideological. In clear contrast to the French materialists of the 18th century, the revolution in this instance is declared only for the world of ideas.

Power of Human Knowledge

The fundamental problem of classical bourgeois philosophy — the philosophy that ranges from F. Bacon and R. Descartes all the way to Hegel and Feuerbach — consists in this question: How can man gain a rational grasp of nature and society? This philosophy is based on the thesis of man's ability to grasp objective reality by virtue of his reason. And Kant, proceeding on the basis of mathematical knowledge but also differentiating from the philosophical rationalism and empiricism of his predecessors, sought in his "Critique of Pure Reason" a solution to the aforementioned fundamental problem, first in the theoretical sphere and then, in his "Critique of Practical Reason," in the practical realm.

Kant's theoretical philosophy is mainly concerned with developing his theory of knowledge. In the "Critique of Pure Reason" he breaks down the main question — how is scientific knowledge possible at all — into three subcategories: 1. How is pure mathematics possible? 2. How is pure natural science possible? 3. How is philosophy as a science possible?

Kant's intention here is to transform philosophy into a true (exact) science modeled after the mathematical sciences and to establish a correspondingly secure base for its presuppositions with regard to knowledge. Kant thus develops a series of dialectical determinants of the process of knowing and terms contradiction a necessary determinant of reason (knowledge).

Using these dialectical insights, Kant puts behind him the metaphysical methods of thinking, thus paving the way for development of the idealistic dialectic within classic bourgeois German philosophy. Harx noted in his "Feuerbach Theses" that it was to the credit of classical bourgeois philosophy that it had focused on 'he problem of man's activity in shaping his natural and social environment. Kant consciously initiated this process with his dialectical rendering of the problem of knowledge. For him there is no doubt that all knowledge begins with experience.

But what is experience, and how is it possible? Kant differentiates between observation and experience. Observational judgments have to do with individual, fortuitous and unconnected moments, while the empirical judgment expresses a causal relationship in which the observational moments appear to be linked. According to Kant, however, this linkage cannot already be existent in the observation itself; only understanding is able to connect the moments of observation. The way in which

they are linked depends not on things, but solely on the forms of our perception.

Kent declared these forms as existing "a priori." He thus assumes a "pure" knowledge that precedes any sensient experience, that makes it at all possible. Space
and time are a priori, as well as concepts of understanding (categories).

Kant's Philosophical Compromise

Kant thus broke down man's power of mental comprehension and expressed it philosophically as a dialectical process. But for him, things in themselves cannot be known; if objective reality remains ultimately unknowable, reality is always perceived only in the way it looks to us through the prim of our forms of perception and understanding. Then, however, human understanding is also dictating its laws to nature.

Although Kant's analysis of the process of knowing revealed in a splendid way the active role of man's understanding, he was unable to grasp the true origin and the essence of these categories because of his shistorical rendering of the subject of knowledge. Kant is forced to take refuge in agnosticiss — in a (partial) state of the unknowable. This became a rallying point for criticism of Kant "from the right" and "from the left." V.I. Lemin gave a convincing explanation of this in his "Materialism and Empirical Criticism."

"The main feature of Kantian philosophy," noted V.I. Lemin, "is the reconciling of materialism with idealism, a compromise between the two, a linking of different kinds of contradictory philosophical schools of thought to one system. When Kant acknowledges that our ideas are something outside of ourselves, some kind of thing—in-itself, in this respect he is a materialist. When he declares this thing-in-itself to be unknowable, transcendent, otherworldly, he emerges as an idealist. By acknowledging experience, the sensibilities, as the sole source of our knowledge, Kant directs his philosophy toward sensualism and, under certain conditions, beyond sensualism to materialism as well. By declaring the a priori nature of space, time, causality, etc, Kant steers his philosophy in the direction of idealism."

Those Who Misrepresent Kant and Those Who Preserve His Legacy

This battle of ideas over the philosophical legacy of Issanuel Kant continues to this day. By way of Bernstein and the revisionism of the turn of the century, idealistic Neo-Kantianism made its way into the workers' movement, where it was used in an attempt to join Marx with Kant, or to replace Marx with Kant. These attempts have experienced a growing revival in the FRG since the 1960's. A prime example of the misrepresentation of Kant has been provided by Helmut Schmidt, the FRG chancellor, who boldly claims Kant as the theoretical basis for his politics and philosophy. Following in his tracks are influential ideologues of modial reform (like P. von Oertzen, J. Steffen, K.D. Voigt and others) who seek to establish theoretical grounds for a "democratic modialism" using Kant and an — amputated — Marx.

As far as Marxism-Leninism is concerned, Kant belongs among the great figures in the history of the dialectic. It initiated the progress in philosophy that led from Fichte and Schelling to Hegel — in other words, to the development of the idealistic dialectic within classical bourgeois German philosophy. Indeed, this dialectic constitutes one of the three sources of Marxism. From this aspect, we too study and pay homage to Kant's principal work, the "Critique of Pure Reason."

7458 CSO: 2300/40

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INTENSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA IN EDUCATION URGED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Oct 81 p 4

['Gz' report, datelined Berlin, 25 October: "Hard Line in GDR Education Policies." A translation of the relevant part of the education ministers' communique cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The weekend edition of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND features on the frontpage, by text and pictures, Erich Honecker as the SED general secretary and Margot Honecker, minister for public education and chairperson of the now concluded fourth conference of the ministers for public education of socialist states. In the central committee building Erich Honecker acknowledged the report submitted to the Central Committee on the occasion of the 5-year anniversary of the central youth project, "FDJ Initiative Berlin." Within the scope of that initiative, reportedly, 355 construction projects were completed, more than 20,000 dwelling units among them. "A more and more beautiful Berlin," Honecker said, should continue to be the GDR's calling card, and only socialism could solve the housing problem.

The hard line in the GDR's educational policy, championed primarily by Margot Honecker, was expressed clearly in the concluding communique of the education ministers conference. The conference, so says the communique, resolutely rebukes all attacks on the socialist school and its principles; it condemns any attempts to depart from Harxist-Leninist school policy and replace it by bourgeois pluralism.

A teacher in the socialist school should be deeply imbued with the consciousness that he himself was a coshaper of a piece of the revolution. The ideological function of the socialist school in the revolutionary struggle was growing constantly. A teacher should have to be a resolute propagandist for the cause of the workers class and an implacable contender for Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist morality.

Education Ministers' Communique

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Oct 81 p 3

[Excerpt from final communique issued by the socialist countries' education ministers at their fourth conference, East Berlin, 20-23 Oct 81]

[Excerpt] It now was the turn of the GDR capital Berlin to hold the fourth conference of the socialist countries' education ministers, from 20 to 23 October 1981.

That new states attended the fourth conference of the socialist countries' education ministers was eloquent testimony to the development and consolidation of the forces of socialism in the world of today.

The centerpiece of the deliberations on the subject, "the teacher and the socialist school today," held in a fraternal, frank and constructive atmosphere, lay in the following unanimous standpoints, realizations and conclusions:

It can be stated with satisfaction that the school in all the states attending the conference has become a fundamental coshaper of the revolutionary development of society. In our time, when the ruling circles in the United States and other imperialist countries for the sake of an insane arms race increasingly constrict their peoples' educational opportunities and peoples in many countries in the world are still denied their right to education, in all the states attending the conference a truly democratic educational system is developing, accessible to all children—even if, for historic reasons, still on unequal levels.

Experiences confirm the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist realization that in the process of the socialist revolution educational matters become critically important and their role grows to the extent that society develops further.

The struggle against illiteracy and for an educational system that is open to all citizens is a decisive step in the transformation of all society, in eliminating the consequences of colonialism and in establishing the socialist society. In this, the obligatory elementary school with a high general education level is an indispensable prerequisite for preparing all pupils for life, work and more advanced education. The form and duration of this obligatory elementary school depend on the given social conditions in any one country.

The teachers in our countries are summoned to solving a task of truly historic importance: to preparing the young generation well for fulfilling its revolutionary duties, the construction of socialism and communism, the defense of the socialist achievements, and the struggle for the happiness of the people and for their right to live in peace and not to be exploited. A teacher of the socialist school must be deeply imbued with the consciousness that he is co-shaping a piece of the revolution.

The conference participants underscore that the ideological function of the socialist school in the revolutionary struggle is growing constantly and that a teacher has to be a resolute propagandist for the cause of the workers class and an implacable contender for Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist morality in all fields of life.

A successful solution of this task is possible only if a teacher of the socialist school himself has a thorough Marxist-Leninist knowledge and is full of rich ideas, the power of conviction and the sense of a high social responsibility for the fate of a generation that is constructing socialism.

The education of school youth in our countries is a task that demands high civic consciousness, technical expertise and pedagogical skill of a teacher. On the political education and the quality and level of teacher training the successful advances of the socialist school depend. For that reason has the study of the social sciences a special rank in the education and training process at the teacher training institutions. Through social science study the future pedagogues are equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and enabled to approach the manifestations of public life on a scientific foundation. It is indispensable for a teacher to grasp Marxism-Leninism as a key to an understanding of the world and not shy away from openly advocating his standpoint and work actively for peace and social progress.

The consolidation and further development of the educational system on a Marxist-Leninist foundation demands of a teacher to fight aggressively against any theories and practices of bourgeois ideology, anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, revanchism, neocolonialism and revisionism. That is particularly necessary in view of the increased attempts imperialism is making in gaining an ideological influence on the young generation.

The socialist school cannot stand apart from politics. The conference resolutely rebuffs any attacks against the socialist school and its principles and condemns the attempts to depart from Marxist-Leninist school policy and to replace it with bourgeois pluralism. The conference participants express their fraternal support for the Polish communists in the struggle for the defense of the socialist achievements and the further consolidation of a school genuinely socialist in type.

The growing tasks the school has to selve place higher demands on the pedagogical, methodological and technical training of the teachers. Along with the social science disciplines, an important role in solving these tasks attaches to pedagogics, psychology and methods training. The concern by the public education organs for further improving the teachers' training and advanced training levels in Marxist-Leninism, the technical sciences, pedagogics and psychology is increasingly becoming a key issue for the further successful development of the educational system.

From the high social responsibility of the teacher for successful socialist construction, for forming the new man, for the consolidation of peace and the friendship among the peoples stems the special attention the conference participants paid to the everyday political and social work of the teacher and his active participation in the political events and class struggles of our time. A teacher has to educate his pupils in the spirit of patriotism, of the love for their homeland, and of the respect for all peoples and their contribution to the progress of mankind, in the spirit of the mutual understanding among the peoples.

5885 CSO: 2300/46

NEW REGULATIONS ON SCHOLARSHIPS OUTLINED

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 8, 1981 p 42

[Article by Imre Vegvari, deputy chief of the KISZ CC's Department of Universities and Colleges, "College Scholarship."]

[Text] Since the 10th KISZ Congress, many questions have been received regarding the planned increase of university and college scholarships. Most questions deal with the reasons for the increase of scholarships. Many asked how the available 150 million forints would be distributed. (This sum also includes the increase of scholarships for both Hungarian students studying abroad and foreign students studying in Hungary.) The basic principles of the still valid scholarship system for full-time students at institutions of higher learning were laid down in 1967 and was introduced during the academic year 1969-70. The essence of this is that the financial support of university and college students depends on two factors. Social support is determined by family circumstances, income of the family wage earners, and the size of the income per capital family member; its monthly rate is 100 to 600 forints. Academic scholarship, which is also 100 to 600 forints, is determined mainly by grade average, and its exact sum is recommended by student collectives. In making their recommendation, they look at the relationship between the student's grades and his ability and the degree to which the student has taken part in communal, public, scientific, professional and social activities which are integral part of socialist professional training.

For good measure, we must mention the other large field of support, the so-called benefits in kind, meaning reduced rates for room and board. The present measure does not include this, since state subsidies here were compensated at the time of price increases. Returning to monetary support, the amount available for this purpose has not changed since 1970, reducing that amount by the additional costs resulting from the larger number of students. Even so, while in 1970, 70 percent of the students received social support, now only 50 percent of them do. A study, which would yield similar results, could also be conducted in the case of scholar-ships.

These were some of the facts which recently have led to the situation where more and more students have assumed jobs during the academic year. Since this work is often temporary (unloading freight cars, delivering newspapers, construction work) and is not related to their area of study, it can in no way be considered desirable. In addition, because of the decrease in real value of the scholarships, the differentiation among the individual students was very small, the local KISZ basic were

not very serious in doing this kind of comparison, striving for egalitarianiam. (There was no possibility and thus sense for differentiating between various student accomplishments.)

The KISZ called the attention to the problems several times, also initiating various solutions. The present increase in scholarships was planned for the second half of the Sixth Five-Year Plan; it was because of the KISZ that the measure was moved up by one or one-and-a-half years.

Regarding distribution, let it suffice to say that practically every student may express his opinion on this topic at this year's youth parliaments; final regulation will be based on this extensive debate, and practical implementation will begin in February 1982. Through the involvement of university and college KISZ leaders, the KISZ's own position will be also worked out; of course, this will also be put to an extensive debate.

9414

CSO: 2500/28

XIII NATIONAL ZNP CONGRESS REPORTED

ZNP Statute

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 44, Nov 80 Insert pp I-XVI

[Text] This Statute was passed at the XIII National Congress of ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] Delegates on 14 October 1980 as a provisional Statute in force, in accordance with its article 82, until such time as congresses of both member union delegates are called together during the upcoming 6 months.

STATUTE OF THE POLISH TEACHERS' UNION

I. General Resolutions

Article 1. The Polish Teachers' Union is a self-governing professional union which under federated principles unites education and upbringing employees as well as employees of higher schools and scientific institutions. The Union acts in two autonomous member unions:

the Polish Teachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees; the Polish Teachers' Union--Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees.

- Article 2. The Polish Teachers' Union is a Union independent of administrative authorities and political organizations.
- Article 3. The Polish Teachers' Union serves Socialist Poland and bases its activity on the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and on international conventions and pacts ratified by the Polish People's Republic.
- Article 4. The Union possesses legal status.
- Article 5. The Union's area of activity is the territory of the Polish People's Republic. Its seat of authority is the capital city of Warsaw.
- II. Goals and Tasks of the Union
- Article 6. Specifically, the Union:
- 1) is an agent of employee interests and protects the rights of education and science employee interests, agrees upon legal acts with the proper organs of authority which define the rights and resonsibilities of employees and their working

and wage conditions, negotiates and terminates collective labor contracts, supervises over the civil observance of law and order and the observance of work legislation, cooperates with national executive authorities and administrative agencies in matters relating to employee hiring;

- 2) aims for a systematic improvement of the material and social situation of education and upbringing employees and also of higher schools and scientific institutions employees, cares about matters concerning their well-being and offers assistance to them in obtaining rights and services to which they are entitled;
- 3) supervises over working conditions, the state of industrial safety and hygiene [bhp]; counteracts against on the job accidents and occupational diseases;
- 4) cooperates with the proper authorities and with public health service institutions in matters regarding the systematic improvement of employees' state of health, improvement of medical care, health-resort and rehabilitative therapeutics, organizing various kinds of employee vacations and relaxation after work;
- 5) acts for the improvement of housing conditions, in particular, it presents proposals on the issue of providing for the housing needs of employees, conducts social control over the observance of their rights, comes out with demands and suggestions in regard to housing construction, participates in the administering of the institutional [place of employment] housing fund, cooperates with national administrative agencies and housing cooperatives in assigning living quarters to active education and science employees and to retirees and pensioners;
- 6) develops various forms of mutual assistance among fellow-workers, organizes and oversees employee assistance-loan funds;
- 7) exerts efforts for the constant increase of participation of members and their families in all forms of social services, codetermines the managing of the social fund for employees;
- 8) cares for retirees and pensioners as for members with full rights in the Union, cooperates with the proper national authorities in matters pertaining to the building of social assistance homes and retirement homes;
- 9) looks after widows and orphans of deceased members, lends assistance to members in the form of statutory grants-in-aid and benefits, ensures care for children of Union members in times of crisis;
- 10) participates in the development of social insurance and influences the proper and prompt implementation of insurance services by ZUS [Social Security Agency] and its agencies;
- 11) conducts various forms of union training for youth preparing to enter the teaching profession and beginning to work in this field, strives to incorporate union goals into the realization of this profession;
- 12) inspires and organizes research on Union history;
- 13) develops extensive activity which aims to raise the social status of the teaching profession and that of the science employee.

- Article 7. The Union participates actively in the shaping of the progressive aspect of Polish education and science. With this goal in mind, it specifically:
- cooperates in defining policies in the field of education and science and in plans for their development and the outlays connected with this endeavor;
- strives for the unrestricted development of creative thinking in the field of education and science; strives to provide for education and science employees, conditions necessary for the carrying out of scientific research which serves social progress;
- 3) works to raise the level of education, science and upbringing; expands activity for the sake of improving the quality of work in schools, institutes and scientific establishments in order to properly prepare cadres [personnel] for the benefit of the national economy and culture; takes special care in the productive search for education and science employees with the aim of raising the level of instructionalupbringing and scientific work in schools and scientific establishments;
- 4) strives to strengthen and intensify the principles of upbringing in the spirit of tolerance and respect for human dignity;
- 5) focuses particular attention on matters relating to the training and professional advancement of teachers, development of the young academic cadre; takes part in working out a system and programs of training and advancement; organizes, within its own capacity, various forms of increasing general and professional knowledge as well as pedagogical excellence of its members; acts on behalf of shaping conditions essential for the systematic raising of the professional qualifications standards;
- 6) instructs its members in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism to be the nation's cognizant commanagers;
- 7) cooperates with appropriate ministries in conducting work in the area of culture and education, tourism and related studies as well as sports among education and science employees;
- 8) participates in carrying out social-educational and popular-scientific activity within the community.
- Article 8. On all organizational levels, the Union:
- acts on behalf of unified goals of the professional movement in Poland and assumes interunion cooperation and, in particular, negotiates agreements with other unions and takes up joint action for the protection of employee interests and the proper functioning of working institutions;
- 2) acts on behalf of strengthening international solidarity of education and science employees, participates in the work of the International Federation of Professional Teaching Unions and the World Federation of Scientific Workers, implements the principles of the Teacher's Charter and the Academic Employee's Charter.

III. Measures and Forms of Union Activity

Article 9. To achieve its goals, the Union makes use of the following means and forms of activity:

- develops, publishes and presents to the proper authorities, plans, proposals and opinions on matters concerning education, science, culture and upbringing and also on matters involving working and living conditions of education and science employees;
- calls together academic congresses, conventions and conferences for the purpose of discussing issues relating to education, science and upbringing as well as professional, social-existence and cultural matters;
- inspires and conducts scientific research on the teaching profession, participates in the carrying out of such research, announces competition for studies dealing with teaching and upbringing, science, education and culture of employee matters;
- 4) delegates representatives to craventions, scientific, pedagogical, educational and professional congresses in the country and abroad;
- 5) cooperates in working out acts which normalize all work and living matters and, in particular, employment matters; gives its consent to these acts [laws]; intercedes in an attempt to settle conflicts between employee and employer;
- 6) organizes and facilitates self-education for its members;
- 7) participates, through its representatives, in making decisions about matters concerning education and science;
- 8) carries out publishing activity; influences publishing policies in the field of science, education and upbringing; cooperates with appropriate institutions for the purpose of shaping planning policies in the field of films, radio and television in accordance with the needs of schools and upbringing;
- 9) has its own press organ. "Glos Nauczycielski" [The Teachers Voice]; its planning activity is supervised by the Social Council made up of representatives of chapters [sections] from outside the membership of the main boards; the editor-in-chief of the "Glos Nauczycielski" is appointed and removed by the Union's Supreme Council;
- 10) manages sanatoria, therapeutic-rest centers and training centers;
- 11) together with education and science executive authorities, it develops physical education and sports; organizes tourist and area studies excursions for ZNP members and their families;
- 12) develops cultural-educational work together with education and science executive authorities; manages teachers' centers, clubs and community centers' organizes and manages performers troupes and creative groups;
- 13) conducts its own Cost of Living, Wages and Working Conditions Survey Center and publishes the results of these surveys;

- 14) offers organizational assistance and legal counsel to members on matters related to work, organizational activity or community work;
- 15) manages a Pedagogical and Social Services Center;
- 16) voices objections to decisions of management in working establishments which are in violation of the employees' basic interests and rights, implements all other permissible measures for the realization of its goals including the right to strike;
- 17) assures union echelon members that at the end of their term of office, they may assume the work of their previous or equivalent position.
- IV. Organizational Principles and Union Structure

Article 10.

- 1) the federated status of the Union depends on:
 - a) independent, self-governing and self-sufficient activity of each member union;
 - b) equality of member union representation in Union management;
 - c) each member union's possession of its own authority;
 - d) each member union's independence from the decisions made by the other member union;
- 2) resolutions of Union executive authorities—as authorities of a federation—are binding to both member unions;
- 3) the Union is founded on democratic principles. In accordance with these principles, Union executive authorities:
 - a) come to be as a result of democratic elections and submit reports on their activity to Union members;
 - b) are elected by secret ballot whereby the number of declared candidacies is determined by an assembly (conference);
 - are accountable, in all union related matters, only to Union members in whose name they hold representative mandates;
 - d) pass joint and self-governing resolutions, make decisions on all union matters—within the range of their power—taking demands into account and seeking the opinion of Union members in the process of consultation.

Article 11.

- 1) the union authorities are the national delegate congresses of both member unions. National congresses are held once every 3 years;
- 2) the executive agencies of the Union are the main boards of both member unions and the Union Supreme Council made up of the presidiums of these boards; each member union has the same number of votes in the Supreme Council;
- 3) the controlling body of Union activity is the Supreme Audit Commission [NKR].

Article 12.

- 1) It is in the power of the Supreme Council:
 - a) to coordinate member union activity;
 - b) to represent an agreed upon position of member unions on education and scientific policy matters as well as on financial matters before supreme national and political authorities:
 - c) to manage Union finances and conduct investment policies;
 - d) to appoint a Union treasurer from among the Council members to manage Union financial holdings:
- 2) The Supreme Council submits an account of its activity to both member unions.

Article 13. The work of the Union Supreme Council is directed by the chairman. This position is held consecutively for a period of 1 year by each chairman of the member unions; the chairman of the other member union fulfills the function of vice chairman during that time.

Article 14.

- The Supreme Audit Commission of the Union is made up of the presidiums of the main audit commissions of both member unions whereby each one of them is allowed one vote;
- 2) the work of the Supreme Audit Commission is consecutively managed by the chairman of the audit commissions of both member unions for a period of 1 year;
- 3) within the Supreme Audit Commission's sphere of activity is controlling statutory activity, Union management and finances;
- 4) the Supreme Audit Commission presents findings from the results of this control at congresses and to the Union Supreme Council.

V. Members

Article 15.

- 1) Employees of all types of schools, educational, scientific and tutelary-upbringing establishments, may become members of each of the unions as well as those employed in school administration and by institutions cooperating with education and science who accept the ideological-programmatic assumptions of this Statute;
- 2) membership in the ZNP rules out membership in another professional union.
- Article 16. Acceptance into the membership body takes place upon submission of a written declaration of joining one of the member unions.
- Article 17. Proof of membership in the Union is a valid membership card.

Article 18.

1) The following time periods count towards union membership:

- a) a period of membership in another professional union before transferring to one of the member unions if the time interval between union memberships does not exceed 6 months;
- b) period of time spent by a member in basic military service;
- c) period of membership in student unions and time spent working in Volunteer Labor Brigades if the interval between membership in the mentioned organizations and joining one of the member unions does not exceed 6 months;
- d) period of membership in professional unions abroad if the interested party joins one of the member unions during a period of 6 months from the date of becoming a permanent resident of Poland;
- e) a member may maintain continuity of union membership for a justified period of unemployment—on the basis of a decision by the institutional council;
- 2) mothers on upaid leave who are not receiving any compensation as well as members of one of the member unions who are performing military service--do not pay membership dues during the period of time;
- 3) the period of membership is counted in after the member pays dues for the *ntire interval period from union membership, with the exception of the members mentioned in rule 2, in an amount appropriate to the remuneration received for the first month of employment after the interval.

Article 19. Loss of membership occurs as a result of:

- 1) resignation from union membership;
- 2) being stricken off the membership list because of unjustified delinquency in paying membership dues for 3 consecutive months;
- expulsion from the union.
- VI. Members' Rights

Article 20. A member has the right:

- 1) to elected and be elected to all union management positions;
- to evaluate member and union management activities at meetings, conferences and congresses;
- to participate in meetings at which union management makes decisions which concern him personally;
- 4) to take advantage of social, cultural and sports equipment which is at the disposal of the Union and also of all services and organizational-legal assistance envisaged by the Statute and regulations;
- 5) to turn to the Union in all matters concerning working and living conditions, especially matters involving the rights to which he is entitled.
- Article 21. A Union member may be presented with national, ministerial and regional awards and honored with a Gold ZMP Award or other form of recognition for exceptionally active union, social and professional work.

Article 22. Upon retiring or receiving a pension, Union members continue to retain their membership in affiliation with basic organizational elements proper to the place of employment or permanent residence or in affiliation with retirees' centers formed on the basis of general principles.

VII. Obligations of Members

Article 23. A Union member is obliged:

- 1) to comply with the decisions and resolutions of the Statute, to participate in Union life and to strive for the realization of Union tasks and goals:
- 2) to protect community property as the common good of working masses and to fight all signs of bureaucracy, corruption and other harmful activitiy;
- 3) to observe workers' obligations, to raise his own professional qualifications;
- 4) to observe principles of social coexistence;
- 5) to pay union dues regularly; dues are not repayable.

Article 24.

- In the event of violating resolutions of the Statute, binding laws, professional ethics or principles of social coexistence, the union management may take the following action:
 - a) reproof;
 - b) reprimand;
 - c) reprimand with a warning of suspension of membership rights;
 - d) temporary suspension of membership rights;
 - e) explusion from the union;
- 2) the decision of using the action mentioned in rule 1 against a member should be made in his presence; if despite having been notified, a member does not present himself at the meeting without good cause—then the decision may fall in his absence; a member has the right to appeal the decision to a higher union echelon within 30 days of the date of receiving the decision.
- VIII. Organizational Principles and Structure of the Union
- A. Polish Teachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees

Article 25.

- 1) The following structure of elements and boards (councils) is binding in the Polish Leachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees:
 - 1) union group--delegate;
- 2) departmental union organization (element) -- departmental council (element council);
 - plant (interplant) union organization--plant council;

- 4) district union organization-district board;
- 5) Main Board.
- 2) Union authorities of appropriate levels are: the National Congress; district conference of delegates; meetings (conferences) of plant (interplant) and departmental organizations and union groups.
- 3) During the period between congresses, conferences and meetings, the Union's executive agencies are boards (councils and representations) mentioned in article 25, paragraph 1.

Article 26.

- 1) the plant union organization is the basic organizational element; departmental union organizations (elements) and union groups may function within its sphere;
- the plant union organization unites members from one or more institutions, from the area of a town, district, rural parish, or town and rural parish;
- 3) the formation or dissolution of a plant union organization takes place on the basis of a district board decision;
- 4) the governing body of the plant union organization is a conference or meeting and during the time between conferences and meetings--the plant council;
- 5) delegates elected by departmental union organizations (elements) or union groups participate in the conference of delegates of a plant union organization with a casting vote; the number of delegates as well as the principles on which the conference is to be conducted is determined by the district board;
- 6) a conference of delegates or a report-election meeting of a plant union organization is called together by the plant council at the end of a term of office; it is within the power of a conference or meeting:
 - a) to accept a plant council's audit commission's activity reports;
 - b) adopt guidelines for the next activity period;
 - c) elect by secret ballot, plant council members, audit commission members and members of the peer court [arbitration by fellow workers] whose number is determined by a meeting (conference); delegates to the district conference of delegates, the number of which is determined by the district board; and delegates to the National Congress whose number is determined by the Main Board.
- Article 27. An extraordinary conference or meeting of a plant union organization is called together upon the suggestion of the plant council on the basis of a resolution of higher Union authorities or upon the request of one-third of the members, within 30 days of the date of filing the request or legally valid resolution. An extraordinary conference (meeting) confers upon matters present on the agenda.
- Article 28. The plant council is responsible for the implementation of statutory Union tasks and also inspires and organizes union work within the scope of its activity. But above all:

- a) it represents the interests of employees at their place of employment and before proper national authorities and administrative agencies;
 - b) it supervises over the observance of employee rights and the just allocation of social services, participates in the distribution of the institutional social and housing fund and the health and award fund;
 - c) it takes a stand on matters concerning the termination or change of a working relationship;
 - d) it intercedes in resolving conflicts between the employee and the management at the place of employment;
 - e) it supervises industrial conditions, safety and hygiene;
 - f) cooperates in the development and implementation of plans for the improvement of working conditions;
 - g) together with the Retirees and Pensioners Chapter, it organizes care for retirees and pensioners;
- 2. a) it determines the structure of the plant union organization;
 - b) implements the resolutions in articles 24 and 71 of the Statute;
- 3. a) develops ideological-upbringing, cultural and educational activity;
 - b) strives to raise work standards;
 - c) expands initiative and the best work experiences;
 - d) supports and facilitates professional instruction, self-improvement and self-education;
 - d) strengthens congeniality among fellow employees and in life through cooperation and mutual assistance;
- 4. cooperates with the proper political and social authorities and with national authority and administrative agencies in solving the problems of schools and institutions and in all work related matters;
- 5. the resolutions contained in article 67 apply accordingly to the presidium of the institutional council elected on the basis of article 66:
- 6. the plant council may authorize its presidium to express its position on matters pertaining to the termination of the working relationship with employees.

Departmental Union Organization

Article 29.

- 1) Departmental union organizations (elements) are appointed by the plant council;
- 2) the authority of the departmental union organization (element) is the meeting and during the period between meetings--the departmental council (element);
- 3) a report-election meeting is called together by the departmental council (element) at the end of a term of office; the following responsibilities lie within the authority of the meeting:
 - a) acceptance of the council's activity reports:
 - b) acceptance of tasks for the next activity period;
 - election by secret ballot of council members and audit commission members, whose number is determined at the meeting, and election of delegates to

the report-election conference of the plant union organization, whose number is determined by the plant council;

- d) election of a chairman by separate secret ballot;
- 4) a meeting of a departmental union organization (element) is called together periodically by the council according to the work plan; once annually, a meeting is devoted to the presentation of the activity report of the departmental council (element).

Departmental Council (Element Council)

Article 30.

- 1) the departmental council (element) implements statutory goals within the sphere of its activity, specifically, it carries out social control over the observance of employee rights and working conditions; it comes out with well-founded demands on matters pertaining to professional, social and cultural work; it strives to increase union input into the raising of work standards in schools;
- 2) Statute resolutions percaining to plant union organizations and plant councils are applied accordingly to departmental union organizations (elements) and their councils with the exception of matters reserved by the work code to be within the jurisdiction of plant councils.

Union Group

Article 31. Union groups may be created within the sphere of the departmental union organization (element) and the plant union organization; the union group elects a delegate, his representative as well as a community work supervisor; the delegate is a liaison between the council and group members; he organizes union work resulting from the council's activity plan in the group.

District Union Organization

Article 32.

- the district union organization includes plant union organizations acting within the territory of one province;
- 2) the authorities of the district union organization are: the district conference of delegates and the district board during the period between conferences;
 - 3) the following participate in the district conference of delegates:
 - a) with a casting vote--delegates elected at meetings or conferences of plant union organizations and union chapters;
 - b) with an advisory vote—district board members, members of the audit commission, representatives of the Main Board and chairmen of union chapters;
- 4) a district conference of delegates is called together by a district board at the end of a term of office; the following belong spcifically to the range of activity of the conference:

- a) acceptance of the board's and audit commission's activity reports;
- b) adoption of guidelines for the next period of activity;
- election of board members and sudit commission members in a number determined by the conference;
- d) election of delegates to the National Congress of Delegates in a ratio of 1 delegate for every 2,000 members and an extra delegate if the number of members is greater than 2,000 by at least 1,001.

District Board

Article 33. The district board

- 1) represents working interests and the position of plant councils towards authorities at the provincial level;
- inspires and coordinates activity of union elements, maintains constant ties with them, supervises the implementation of resolutions and plans of action, strengthens union responsibility and independence of elements and gives them indispensable assistance in the fulfillment of tasks;
 - 3) approves the budget, accepts financial reports;
- 4) cooperates with other union organizations and social organizations, strives to create conditions conducive to the realization of ZNP goals.

National Congress

Article 34. The highest Union authority is the National Congress of Delegates.

Article 35.

- 1) The delegates who participate in the National Congress of Delegates are elected at:
 - a) report-election conferences of plant union organizations with over 2,000 members;
 - b) district conferences of delegates;
 - e) conferences of union and professional chapters;
- 2) the National Congress of Delegates is legally valid if at least two-thirds of the delegates participate in it;
- 3) at the National Congress, members of the outgoing Main Board, the Main Audit Commission and chairmen of professional chapters participate as non-delegates with an advisory vote;
- 4) the National Congress of Delegates is called together at the end of a term of office by the Main Board; specifically, the following belong to the range of activities of the Congress:
 - a) evaluating and deciding upon the ideological and planned course of Union activity as well as basic guidelines for the realization of its [the Union's] goals and tasks;

- b) acceptance of the Main Board's and the Main Audit Commission's reports;
- election by secret ballot of members of the Main Board; the chairmen and members of the Main Audit Commission--by separate ballot in a number decided upon by the Congress;

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- d) passing and changing of the Union Statute in open voting; the passing of a resolution on this matter requires two-thirds of the votes of the authorized to vote Congress participants;
- e) deciding upon the design of union badges;
- f) deciding upon the amount of membership dues and the method of distributing it.

Article 36. On the strength of the decision of the Main Board or upon the request of one-third of the Union membership, an Extraordinary National Congress of Delegates may be called together. The Main Board should call together an Extraordinary Congress within 3 months of the date of filing the legally valid motion. Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress are elected by secret ballot. The Extraordinary Congress deliberates over only those issues for which it was called together.

Main Board

Article 37. During the period between National Congresses, the Main Board is the Union's agent.

Article 38. The following belong to the sphere of activity of the Main Board; specifically:

- implementation of resolutions of the National Congress of Delegates, formulating of Union activity programs on the basis of extensive union consultations and appropriate research;
- in relation to this, defining of the role, tasks and rights of echelons and elements;
- assisting union echelons;
- 4) representing before political and national authorities, the Union position on issues of education and upbringing and work-related needs and demands;
- 5) submitting of reports on the realization of Union tasks;
- 6) interpreting the Statute, passing of resolutions and acceptance of regulations of union agencies and institutions;
- 7) passing of budgets and financial-economic programs, ratification of balances and financial reports of the Union and its branches, making decisions regarding finances;
- 8) electing the Presidium of the Main Board and evaluating its activity;
- 9) carrying out changes in the structure of the Union in terms of Statute resolutions;
- 10) passing of resolutions which regulate specific areas of Union activity and also those which concern all other matters of the Statute.

Presidium and Secretariat of the Main Board

Article 39.

- 1) Specifically, the Presidium of the Main Board:
 - a) implements the program of activity and directs the work of the Union during the period between meetings of the Main Board; represents the Union before authorities, agencies, unions, organizations and other corporate bodies and officials;
 - b) directs the work of the Main Board's agencies;
 - c) plans the budget and the financial-economic program as well as chapter regulations and presents them to the Main Board for ratification;
 - d) ratifies commission regulations and those of the Union branches;
 - e) manages the Union's financial resources;
 - f) appoints editors-in-chief of union newsletters and managers of departments of the Main Board;
 - g) confers upon the Secretariat of the Main Board full powers for managing the Union's financial holdings and drawing up legal acts and agreements; the work of at least two persons appointed by the Presidium of the Main Board is required for the drawing up of legal acts and financial agreements as well as the confering of powers of attorney;
- 2) between sessions of the Presidium, Union work is directed collectively by the Secretariat of the Main Board which is composed of: the chairman, vice chairmen and secretaries; the Secretariat implements current tasks and represents the Main Board.
- B. Polish Teachers' Union-Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees
 Article 40.
- 1. The following structure of elements and boards (councils) is binding in the Polish Teachers' Union-Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees:
 - 1) union group--delegate;
 - departmental or faculty union organization--departmental council (faculty council, institute council);
 - 3) plant union organization--plant council;
 - regional union organization--regional board appointed upon the proposal of plant union organizations;
 - 5) the Main Board.
- 2. Union authorities of appropriate levels are: the National Congress, regional union conferences, meetings of plant, faculty and group union organizations.
- 3. During the period between congresses, conferences and meetings, the union authorities of appropriate levels are represented by boards (councils and representations) mentioned in rule 1.

Plant Union Organization

Article 41.

- 1) The plant union organization is the basic element of the Union. Departmental (faculty, institute) union organizations and union groups may function within the Union;
- 2) the plant union organization unites members from one particular place of employment; in higher schools branches, sections of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and local scientific-research institutes, separate plant union organizations may be created;
- 3) creation or dissolution of a plant union organization takes place on the basis of a resolution of this organization;
- 4) the plant union organization's authority is a conference or meeting and during the period between conferences and meetings—the plant council has the authority;
- 5) in the conference of delegates of a plant union organization, delegates elected in departmental (faculty, institute) union organizations or union groups participate with a casting vote;
- 6) a delegate conference or report-election meeting of a plant union organization is called together by the plant council at the end of a term; the following belong to the responsibilities of a conference or meeting:
 - a) receive and accept the plant council's and audit commission's activity reports;
 - b) adoption of work directives for the next period;
 - c) election by secret ballot: members of the plant council; audit commission members; members of the peer court, delegates to the regional conference of delegates, the number of which is determined by the regional council and delegates to the National Congress whose number is decided upon by the Main Board of the Union.

Article 47. An extraordinary conference or meeting of a plant union organization is called together upon the suggestion of the plant council on the basis of a resolution of higher Union authorities or upon the request of one-third of the members within 30 days of the date of submitting the request or a legally valid resolution.

An extraordinary conference (meeting) deliberates on issues present on the agenda.

Plant Council

Article 43. The plant council is responsible for the implementation of statutory tasks of the Union and instigates and organizes union work in its region of activity. But above all:

 a) it represents employees' interests in the place of employment before proper national authorities and administrative agencies;

- b) it has permanent representation in the collegial organs of higher schools and scientific institutions;
- c) supervises over the observance of employees' rights and the proper distribution of social services;
- d) participates in the distribution of the resources of institutional funds: social, housing and award funds;
- e) expresses a position on issues of hiring, terminating and changes in the working relationship;
- f) intercedes in the resolving of disputes between the employee and the place of employment;
- g) supervises industrial safety and hygiene conditions;
- h) cooperates in the development and realization of programs for the improvement of working conditions;
- 2. a) determines the structure of the plant union organization;
 - b) dismisses and suspends plant council members;
- a) develops ideological-ypbringing, cultural-educational and scientific activity;
 - b) strives to raise work standards;
 - c) disseminates initiatives and the best work experiences:
 - d) supports and facilitates education, professional self-improvement and self-education;
 - e) strengthens comradeship at work and in life based on cooperation and mutual assistance;
- 4. cooperates with the proper political and social authorities and also with national authorities and administrative agencies in solving problems involving higher schools and scientific institutions as well as in all work related matters;
- the resolutions contained in article 67 correspond accordingly to the presidium of the plant council elected on the basis of article [number illegible];
- the plant council may authorize its presidium to pass resolutions which express consent or an opinion in instances of terminating the working relationship with employees.

Departmental Union Organization

Article 44.

- 1) Departmental union organizations are appointed by the plant council;
- 2) a departmental union organization may be formed when there are at least 10 members;
- 3) the authority of a departmental union organization is the meeting and during the period between meetings--the departmental council is in power;
- 4) a report-election meeting is called together by the departmental council at the end of a term of office; the following are within the authority of the meeting:

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a) acceptance of council activity reports;

b) adoption of working guidelines for the next period of activity;

- c) election by secret ballot of: council members and audit commission members
 whose number is determined at the meeting; delegates to the report-election
 conference of a plant union organization whose number is decided upon by the
 plant council;
- 5) a meeting of a departmental union organization is called together periodically by the council in accordance with the work plan; one meeting is devoted annually to the departmental council's activity report.

Departmental Council

Article 45.

- 1) The departmental council implements in the region of its activity, statutory goals of the Union and in particular: conducts social supervision over the observance of employees' rights and working conditions; presents legitimate demands in regard to professional, social and cultural employee matters; on the principle of constantly instigating social-professional incentives, it strives to increase union input into the improvement of work in higher schools and scientific institutions; it influences the shaping of principles of social coexistence in the place of employment, responsible and conscientious work, professional ethics, cooperation between the management and employees; works to provide for needs in the area of culture, relaxation and health;
- 2) Statute resolutions pertaining to plant union organizations and plant councils are applied accordingly to union organizations and their councils with the exception of matters restricted by resolutions in the labor code to the jurisdiction of plant councils.

Union Group

Article 46. The Union groups may be created within the sphere of the departmental union organization and the plant union organization; a union group elects a delegate, his representative and a social work supervisor; this delegate serves as a liaison between the council and members of the group; he organizes union work within the group, which results from the council's program of activity.

Regional Union Organization

Article 47.

- A Regional union organization includes plant union organizations of higher schools and scientific institutions acting in the area of one or several provinces;
- 2) the administrative authorities of a regional union organization are: the regional conference of delegates and in the period between conferences—the regional board;
- 3) those who participate in a regional conference of delegates are as follows:

- a) with a casting vote--delegates elected at meetings or conferences of plant union organizations;
- b) with an advisory vote--members of the regional board, the audit commission and representatives of the Main Board;
- 4) a regional conference of delegates is called together by the regional board at the end of a term of office; the sphere of activity of the conference is as follows:
 - a) acceptance of the board's and audit commission's activity reports;

b) adoption of guidelines for the next period of activity;

 election of board and audit commission members, the number of which is decided upon by the conference;

d) election of delegates to the National Congress of Delegates with a ratio of 1 delegate for every 250 members and an extra delegate in case the number over 250 amounts to at least 100 members.

Regional Board

Article 48. The regional board:

- 1) is responsible for the implementation of an all-union program of activity; finalizes and supplements it on the basis of local capacities, initiative of union elements and employees' needs, in the region included in its sphere of activity;
- 2) represents employees interests and the position of plant councils before provincial authorities;
- 3) inspires and coordinates the activity of subordinate elements, maintains a permanent bond with them, supervises the implementation of resolutions and programs of activity, strengthens union responsibility and independence of elements and offers them indispensable assistance for the accomplishment of tasks;
- 4) cooperates with provincial union and social organizations, strives to create favorable conditions for the implementation of Union goals, the observance of its rights and the development of professional and social activity of elements and members.

National Congress

Article 49. The highest administrative authority of the Union is the National Congress of Delegates.

Article 50.

- 1) Delegates participating in the National Congress are elected at:
 - a) report-election conferences of plant union organizations with over 250 members;
 - b) regional conferences of delegates;
- 2) the national Congress of Delegates is legally valid if at least two-thirds of the delegates participate;

- 3) members of the outgoing Main Board, Main Audit Commission, chairmen of union chapters of the ZG [Main Board] take part in the National Congress as non-delegates with an advisory ballot;
- 4) the National Congress is called together at the end of a term of office by the Main Board; specifically, it is within the capacity of the Congress to:
 - a) evaluate and set up an ideological and planned course of Union activity as well as vital guidelines aimed at the implementation of its goals and tasks;
 - b) acceptance of the Main Board's and Main Audit Commission's reports;
 - c) election by secret ballot of members of the Main Board and the Main Audit Commission, the number of which is decided upon by the Congress in keeping with the principle of a complete as possible representation of professional groups and districts;
 - d) passing and changing of the Union Statute in an open election; adoption of a resolution in this respect requires two-thirds of the vote of the Congress participants who are authorized to vote;
 - e) determining the amount of union dues.

Article 51. On the authority of the Main Board's resolution or upon the request of one-third of the Union membership, an Extraordinary National Congress of Delegates is called together. The Main Board should call together an Extraordinary Congress within 3 months from the date of filing a legally valid proposal. Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress are elected by secret ballot according to the guidelines set by the Main Board. The Extraordinary Congress deliberates over only those issues for which it was called together.

Main Board

Article 53. The by-laws of articles 36-38 are applied accordingly to the Main Board, the Presidium and Secretariat of this member Union.

IX. Audit Commissions

Article 53. Audit commissions are elected at national congresses of delegates and also at district, regional and plant conferences of delegates or membership meetings of plant union organizations for the term of office of a given Union echelon. Hembers of audit commissions cannot simultaneously be members or exployees of the same or higher-level echelons.

Article 54. Main audit commissions elect presidiums from their own midst including chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries. The number of members of a presidium is determined by main audit commissions.

Article 55. The tasks of the Main Audit Commission are:

- supervising over the work of the Main Board and its branches and, in particular, controlling the economy and finances in terms of legality, efficiency, purposefulness and honesty;
- 2) informing the Main Board and its Presidium about the effects of control and the presenting of proposals;

- 3) evaluating drafts of budget estimates and reports on the implementation of budgets; presenting proposals to the Main Board;
 - 4) setting of guidelines for the work of audit commissions;
- 5) initiating and together with lower ranking audit commissions supervising union branches;
- 6) submitting a report on its own activity to the National Congress of Delegates and assuming an attitude towards the economic-financial activity of the Main Board.

Article 56.

- 1) Members of the Presidium of the Main Audit Commission have the right to participate with an advisory vote in sessions of the Main Board and to inform about the effects of monitoring;
- the commission chairman or a member of the Commission Presidium delegated by him has the right to participate with an advisory vote in sessions of the Presidium of the Hain Board.
- Article 57. The resolutions of articles 52-55 have a corresponding application to lower-level commissions.
- Article 58. In the case of determining mismanagement of Union funds and assets, violating the Statute or general rules, the audit commission has the responsibility to inform a higher-level audit commission about this.

X. Peer Courts

Article 59.

- 1) Peer courts settle all disputes and conflicts between Union members;
- 2) the scope of activity and procedure of conduct of peer courts is described in the by-laws passed by the Main Board.
- XI. Union and Professional Chapters

Article 60. Union and professional chapters act within the Union in order to ensure the Union members conditions conducive to productive Union activity; an indispensable sphere of autonomy; proportional representation with union authorities; effective representation and protection of employees' interests.

Union Chapters

Article 61. The following are union chapters:

the Union Chapter of Management and Administrative Employees which through its
work encompasses management, service and administrative employees of schools,
eudcational-upbringing institutions, higher schools and scientific institutions,
administrative units and education and science institutions;

2) the Union Chapter of Retirees and Pensioners which through its work includes retirees and pensioners.

Article 62.

- the Union Chapter of Management and Administrative Employees elects its representatives to union administrations and audit commissions at its reportelection meeting (conferences) of the proper level, by secret ballot and in relation to the number of members:
 - a) representatives to the plant council and its presidium: the audit commission of the plant union organization as well as to the presidium of this commission:
 - b) to the district board (regional board) and its presidium; district (regional) audit commission and its presidium;
 - c) to the Main Board and its Presidium; the Main Audit Commission and its Presidium;
- 2) representatives elected by a chapter are automatically included in the membership of union and audit commission authorities mentioned in paragraph 1;
- 3) a Chapter's report-election meetings (conferences) choose its agent [organ]:
 - a) a conference at the plant union organization level: plant board of Ghapter;
 - b) district conference: district board of Chapter;
 - c) national conference: National Board of Chapter;

4) Chapter boards:

- a) function alongside union echelons of appropriate rank, cooperate with them in the implementation of Union goals and represent employees' opinions and demands before Union authorities;
- b) direct the work of a Chapter in accordance with the Statute and resolutions of main boards;
- adopt resolutions and decisions within their own capacity which are intraunion in character;
- 5) proper ranking union authorities assure the financial means of their budgets for Chapter activity;
- 6) specific details of Chapter activity are described in its by-laws passed by main boards.

Article 63.

- Upon retiring or receiving pensions, ZNP members retain their membership and affiliation with the basic organizational elements proper to the place of employment or permanent residence or to retirees' elements created on general principles;
- 2) retirees and pensioners who are grouped in the elements of the aforementioned rule 1 are encompassed by activity of the Union Chapter of Retirees and Pensioners;

- 3) at its appropriate level meetings (conferences), a Chapter elects by secret ballot and in a number proportional to the number of members--its representatives to:
 - a) the plant council and its presidium; the audit commission of the plant (interplant) union organization and the presidium of this commission;
 - b) the district board (regional board) and its presidium; the district (regional) audit commission and its presidium;
 - c) the Main Board and its Presidium; the Main Audit Commission and its Presidium;
- 4) Chapter elected representatives enter automatically into the membership body of union agencies and audit commissions mentioned in rule 3:
 - 5) report-election meetings (conferences) of a Chapter elect its agency;
 - a) conference at the plant (interplant) union organization level: plant board of Chapter;
 - b) district conference: district board of Chapter;
 - c) national conference: National Board of Chapter;
 - 6) Chapter boards,
 - a) function alongside union echelons of appropriate rank, cooperate with them in the implementation of Union goals and represent demands of members;
 - b) direct Chapter activity in accordance with the Statute and resolutions of the Main Board;
 - c) pass resolutions and decisions within their own official capacity which have an intraunion character;
- 7) revenues from membership dues of retirees and pensioners form the basis for a Chapter's budget;
- 8) the specific principles of Chapter activity are defined in its by-laws adopted by the main board of unions.

Professional Chapters

Article 64.

- 1) ZNP echelons may create professional chapters which represent employees of certain kinds of schools and scientific institutions;
- 2) chapters function under the direction of echelons by which they were appointed; they present their opinion before them on vital issues of a given professional group, particularly before a position is taken by the echelons towards national administration agencies or other institutions; through the union echelons, they present their position before authorities, official departments and institutions; upon the authorization of the echelons, they [chapters] cooperate with union and social organizations and creative unions;
- within the framework of 'the Polish Teachers' Union--Eduation and Upbringing Employees, the following chapters may be appointed: Liberal Arts School System;

Professional, Agricultural, Special Education; Pre-School Education; Child-Care and Out of School Upbringing Centers and Adult Education for Librarians; in valid cases and with the approval of the Main Board other chapters may also be appointed;

- 4) chapters elect a chairman, vice chairman and secretaries from among their members:
- 5) chapters acting alongside the Main Board each elect three delegates to the ZNP National Congress of Delegates;
- 6) the exact scope of chapter activity, the principles and procedures of its formation and dissolution are defined in the by-laws approved by the Main Board.

Article 65.

- 1) The following professional chapters may be organized within the framework of the Polish Teachers' Union-Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees: engineering-technical employees, scientific information employees, lecturers, archivists and physical education studies employees;
- in valid instances and with the approval of the Main Board, other chapters, committees and problem teams may be created;
 - 3) chapters elect chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries from among their members;
- 4) chapters acting alongside the Main Board each elect 3 delegates to the National Congress of Delegates.

XII. Union Echelons

Article 66. National congresses, conferences and report-election meetings:

- elect, in accordance with the Statute, union echelons which represent employees' interests before national and administrative authorities of the proper level;
- 2) elect and recall a chairman of an echelon in a separate secret election;

Union echelons are: the Main Board, district boards and plant councils which:

- a) inspire, coordinate and supervise the functioning of union elements;
- b) adopt plans of work and budgets and also ratify financial-management plans;
- c) examine and handle the recall of lover level elements;
- d) appoint union and professional chapters as well as the problem committees;
- e) implement tasks which result from Statute decisions and resolutions of higher level echelons;
- f) submit reports on their own activity.

Article 67. Union echelons and audit commissions should be formed directly following the elections, within 14 days at the very latest.

Article 68. A union echelon elects the membership body of the presidium from among its members, by secret ballot; it includes the following: vice chairman/men,

secretary/ies; plant councils with smaller memberships do not have to elect a presidium.

Article 69.

- The Presidium manages union work during the period between echelon sessions and represents it [union work] before authorities, institutions and organizations, legal and physical bodies and acts upon all tasks resulting from statutory activity of appropriate organizational elements;
- 2) invited chairmen of professional chapters and problem solving commissions participate with an advisory vote in presidium sessions if the agenda anticipates the examining of matters pertaining to the merits of their activity; between sessions of the presidium, chairmen, vice chairmen, and secretaries collectively direct the work of appropriate organizational elements, carry out the tasks at hand and represent their own echelons.
- Article 70. Chairmen of chapters and presidents of lower organizational level elements may be invited to echelon sessions.
- Article 71. The term of office of a union echelon is 3 years.

Article 72.

- 1) Members elected to positions of chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries of union echelons, audit commissions may fulfill a mandate successively in the same echelon or commission for no more than two terms;
- 2) ZNP members who occupy executive positions in school administration agencies, in educational or scientific establishments and institutions as well as in political organizations cannot simultaneously perform elected functions in union elements of the same or lower rank.

Article 73.

- 1) Members elected to a union echelon are responsible for the implementation of statute tasks and are obligated to carry out the responsibilities assigned to them;
- 2) an echelon member is obligated to represent the interest of his community with dignity, to maintain contact with this community and to keep it informed about the activity of a given echelon;
- 3) an echelon member may be recalled from his function in the ca. If not performing it, acting contrary to the Statute, violating binding union resolutions, committing acts discordant with the principles of social coexistence or failing its electors in other ways; recall may take place on the basis of the given union echelon's decision made by secret voting;
- 4) an echelon member's mandate expires before the end of the term of office in the case of:
 - a) a justified resignation from the mandate;

b) resignation or exclusion from the Union;

- c) recall from union function in accordance with article 71, paragraph 3 of the Statute;
- d) dissolution or unification of union elements preventing the holding of a mandate;
- e) leaving the country for permanent residence abroad;

f) loss of public rights:

- g) termination of the working relationship or change in the place of employment which made it possible to carry out the function until that time;
- 5) if the membership of a plant or departmental council or audit commission decreases by over one-fourth during a term of office—supplementary elections will be held.

Article 74.

- 1) All resolutions passed at national congresses, conferences and meetings as well as sessions of union echelons, require the obtainment of a simple majority of votes from persons qualified to vote if the Statute does not stipulate otherwise:
- 2) resolutions of union echelons may be repealed or suspended by superior union authorities if they are in conflict with Statute resolutions.

XIII. Union Financial Assets and Funds

Article 75.

- The financial assets of unions are made up of: chattels, shares, rights, cash and valuable papers;
- 2) union funds are created from:
 - a) membership dues;
 - b) endowments and donations accepted by main boards;
 - special membership fees introduced on the basis of resolutions made at national congresses;
- the basis for financial activity of all the elements of each union are budgets passed by echelons; the budget period is the calendar year;
- 4) the basis for the distribution of membership dues among main boards, district (regional) boards and plant councils is determined by national congresses; financial activity reports of unions are made known to the members annually;
- 5) district boards and plant councils conduct activity within the range of their own budgets; any agreements or financial commitments entered into by them require authorization from the presidium of an appropriate main board.
- XIV. Financial Assets and Funds of the Union (Federation)

Article 76.

1) The financial assets of the Union are: ismovables, movables, shares, cash and

valuable papers of member unions computed through 31 December 1980 and drawn up according to the opening balance;

- 2) each union's shares are determined on the amount of contributed assets according to the financial state for 31 December 1980;
- 3) the financial costs of union activity are covered in equal parts by both member unions;
- 4) the central budget of the Union is composed of the budgets of both member unions, the financial plan of the Union, financial-management plan of its branches and the investment fund plan;
- 5) a plan of investment financing for a term of office is approved by the Supreme Council of the Union. It informs national delegate congresses of member unions about the realization of such a program;
- 6) in a situation where one of the member unions leaves the Union, the financial assets which were discussed in point 1 are divided as follows:
 - a) immovables, movables and contributions from union branches—in proportion to the amount of submitted shares according to the state of financial affairs on 31 December 1980;
 - b) cash, valuable papers and shares in other institutions--according to the state of the balance of liquidation.

XV. Final Resolutions

Article 77.

- 1) The Supereme Council of the ZNP uses a round seal bearing the following inscription inside the rim: "Polish Teachers Union--Supreme Council--Warsav"; inside the seal is the ZNP stamp;
- Examples and principles of using the seal of member unions by their boards (councils) of all levels are described in the instructions of main boards.

Article 78. The Polish Teachers' Union has:

- a) a banner;
- b) a union stamp;
- c) Gold ZNP Symbol [Badge].

Article 79. A name change or dissolution of a membership union may take place on the strength of a resolution of the national congress of delegates. A two-thirds vote of the delegates authorized to vote is necessary to deem this resolution valid.

Article 80. Matters not settled by the Statute are decided by the main boards according to the principles of this Statute.

Article 81. Whenever there is reference in the Statute to employees who are Union members, then this also applies accordingly to retirees and pensioners.

Article 82. The Statute goes into effect upon being passed. It is binding for ZNP members until the time of calling together congresses of delegates which should take place within the immediate 6 months of an appointed time.

ZNP Program for 1980-1983

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 80 pp 4-6

[Text] The Polish Teachers' Union, as a general, independent, autonomous and self governing professional organization of education and scientific employees, is a representative, spokesman and defender of professional, social and economic interests of teachers, university teachers and education and science employees as well as retirees and pensioners and their rights to a continual improvement of living, working and wage conditions.

In acknowledging the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) in the nation, the Union participates in the planning and implementation of the development of national education, science and culture and acts on behalf of national unity, strengthening of a common educational front and a front for the development of social democracy.

The Union stands on the groundwork of unity of fundamental goals and tasks of the professional movement in Poland and recognizes the need for ideological-programmatic and organizational unity within it. It [the Union] will initiate and develop comprehensive cooperation with other unions and branches on issum concerning the working majority and will strive to create a platform of cooperation between independent and self-governing branch trade-unions. In continuing the praiseworthy traditions of its 75-year old history and on the basis of achievements made until now, the Union acts as an ideologically involved organization, serves the realization of goals and social-educational and moral tasks consistent with the ideals of socialism, law and order and democracy.

Concern over a high social standing of teachers and scientific employees and creating of conditions for them so that they will have the authority, recognition and respect to which they are entitled is the basic goal of the ZNP.

The Union will constantly stand up for:

- --complete enforcement of legally guaranteed rights in terms or presenting opinions and the defense of wide ranging employees rights and intersts;
- -- the effective development and observance of intraorganizational democracy as the basic principle of activity;
- -- respect, in echelons and elements, for the principle of wide representation of professional and social-existence interests of all professional groups, retirees and pensioners;
- --strengthening unified activity of education, higher schools and science employees; --expanding the social character of the movement.
- I. Working and Living Conditions of Education, and Science Employees and Retirees and Pensioners

1) Financial Situation

A problem of basic importance is structuring salaries on a level which would correspond to the status of education and science employees in the country. The Congress is demanding from the government the preparation and implementation of a new system of salaries starting 1 September 1981, which would take into account the following principles:

- -- the average earnings in the field of education are equal to the average earnings nationally;
- -- the average salary of teachers is equal to the average salary of the engineering-technical cadre;
- -- the average salary of university teachers and scientific employees is equal to the average salary of the engineering-technical cadre and management in industry; -- the average salary of engineering-technical, administrative and service employees in the field of education and the higher school system and science equals analogically the average remuneration of groups employed in other divisions of the national economy.

The Congress insists on:

- -- the development during 1981 of a principle of compensating workers' salaries and retirement and pension benefits in proportion to the increase in the cost of living; -- starting January 1981, the introduction of the practice of continual computation of pensions and retirement benefits of former employees parallel to the salary increase of education and science employees and in proportion to the cost of living increases:
- -- starting January 1982, the inclusion of all education and science employees in the institutional remuneration fund with the introduction of its computation starting January 1981.
- -- by the end of 1980, working out a schedule for the introduction of anniversary rewards and bonuses for service performed by teachers and university teachers, -- development, by the end of August 1982, of a concept of reducing the waiting period, for teachers and university teachers, of obtaining a higher and the highest level of principle pay.
- -- from September 1982, including all teachers with over 24 years of professional service in a system of additional advances until the attainment of retirement age; -- introduction, by the end of June 1981 of a system of priorities and financial incentives for teachers working or assuming work in rural areas;
- -- introduction, at the beginning of the 1981/82 academic year of discounts on travel by PKS [State Motor Transport] for teachers commuting to work.

The Congress obligates the Main Board to a decided enforcement of:

- -- binding decisions concerning the number of children in classrooms and pre-school sections;
- -- better principles of granting bonuses for work performed under difficult, strenuous or health hazardous conditions (by the end of 1982);
- -- decisions regarding the shortening of teachers' working time and that of teacher-educators and other employees (by the end of 1981);
- -- new policies for overtime payment including education upbringing institutions which constitute a base for instruction and training in the system of teacher

education (by the end of March 1981); -- introduction of reimbursement for hours of overtime during vacation periods according to a 10-month averagee (starting July 1981);

-- a record of all additional work and activities performed by teachers which are assigned by the employer as well as determining which of these services and the amount which should be reimbursed (by the end of 1981);

--introducing into practice of regulations which would standardize the outfitting of teachers with programs of instruction, textbooks, dictionaries and encyclopedias, writing supplies, tea, protective clothing, articles of hygiene (by the end of June 1981):

-- the legal regulation of the matter of outfitting new teachers with a so called send-off kit, which would include, among other things, a set of teaching programs, manuals and methods guides.

ZNP echelons should demand the use in practice of the policy of promoting long-time employees to the highest salary level of the position held and, in particular, employees of pre-retirement age.

2) Housing Situation

The housing situation for education and science employees as well as for retirees and pensioners, especially teachers in rural areas and young scientific workers, requires quick, integral solutions. For this reason, development by ministries and acceptance by the government of a plan of providing for housing needs for the years 1981-1985 is necessary as is its consistent and full implementation. ZNP echelons are obliged to make a commitment regarding their participation in the development of integral solutions in this area and to enforce the monitoring of their implementation.

By the end of June 1981, a policy should be introduced whereby teachers, university teachers and scientific employees will be recognized as specialists vital to the economy and culture.

ZNP echelons and elements should together with administrative authorities care for:

- -- the full and proper implementation of housing construction plans within the realm of national investments and particular care should be assigned to ensuring such a number of dwelling accommodations, wherever new education-upbringing institutions are being built, that would provide for the housing needs of employees; -- strict observance of the policy of allotting premises vacated by education and science employees only to employees of such branches waiting for the allocation of housing as well as regulating of housing management with premises belonging to ministries of education and science;
- -- increasing financial interest in and assistance for employees, retirees and pensioners who are purchasing or undertaking the building of one-family houses, by enabling them to obtain building lots and construction materials in short supply and by granting long-term credits in the maximum amount;
- -- giving assistance in obtaining cooperative apartments and also in transacting agreements with provincial housing cooperatives in regard to assuming cooperative construction in small towns and rural parishes;
- -- undertaking activity for the purpose of reassessing the policies of high, bank credit rates granted to education and science employees, retirees and pensioners for housing construction;

-- extracting reserves found in the possibilities of adapting former school buildings, purchasing and renovating of other buildings for housing and increasing the number of rotational houses under construction and apartments for academic faculty members and scientific employees.

3) Social Services

The Congress recommends the increase and better management of the social fund resources and in accordance with the needs of particular working communities, those of retirees and pensioners and also in accordance with a social sense of justice, the Fund ought to be used for the most socially justified purposes and the extent of assistance dependent on, among other things, the income level of one person in a working family. In particular, aid to the lowest income families should be increased, to mothers raising their children alone, young married couples, retirees and pensioners and to members of families of deceased employees.

The Congress obligates union echelons to increase supervision over the management of the institutional social fund with concern for its fair and efficient use. It obliges the Main Board to induce the adoption of the policy of computing the social fund on the basis of not two but five percent of the earnings of employees, post-graduate students, royalties as well as retirement and pension benefits of former education and science employees, starting from January 1981.

The Congress resolves:

- -- to acknowledge from 1 January 1981 the right of every ZNP member to statutory benefits regardless of a spouse's analogical right and to increase statuatory benefits:
- -- to create a special centralized, fellowship intervention fund for assistance to Union members;
- -- to increase the amount of the union membership fee remitted by plant councils to departmental councils;
- -- to obligate the Main Board to continue the policy of creating permanent capital expenditure values through the joint efforts of all ZNP members, especially in the form of sanatoriums, relaxation centers, teachers' centers;
- -- to maintain the capital expenditure fund portion of the membership fee at the current level.

In accordance with the needs of employees, appropriate resources from the social fund should be allocated for the development of various forms of relaxation and recreation, for the continued expansion of a permanent and seasonal vacation base, and to ensure the improvement of standards as well as modernized and better equipped vacation centers.

The Congress is demanding the functional organization of employees', retirees' and pensioners' forms of relaxation and the reduction of its costs by among other things, decreasing to a minimum, service charges of intermediating travel enterprises and recommends the making of efforts to grant union branches appropriate authority in this area.

The implementation of services and providing for the social needs of employees, retirees and pensioners should be the responsibility of employee services acting

under the collective control of the Union. In the instance where there is a lack of these services, the Main Board is obligated to induce their appointment by the end of 1980. Among the responsibilities of employee services should be the assuming of efforts for the improvement in supplying teachers, retirees and pensioners, primarily in rural areas, with articles of primary importance, heating and formation of communal nourishment on the principle of employee dining halls.

The Congress obligates the Main Board to constantly enalyze social conditions on the basis of research results from the Union Center for Research on the Structuring of the Pay Scale and Costs of Living and to present proposals to appropriate agencies of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm and also to government authorities.

4) Legal Status and Protection of Law and Order

The Congress obliges the Main Board to submit by the end of 1980, proposals of changes in the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher and also to participate in amendment work and to strive to make favorable legal decisions, from the point of view of employees' interests.

Union echelons and elements should make full use of their legal and statutory rights in the area of controlling the interpretation of rules and law and order in working relationships, to oppose the breaking of law and order and interpretation of rules which is harmful to employees.

The Congress recommends:

- -- expansion of various forms of legal assistance to employees, retirees and pensioners as well as improvement—especially at the fundamental level—of the system of investigating grievances and proposals reported to union and administrative authorities;
- -- conducting periodic analyses and evaluations of the observance of agreements and in the instance that they are not observed-taking decided counteraction until personal consequences against those guilty are obtained.

5) Industrial Safety and Hygiene

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons to:

- -- take definite stands with employers on issues of industrial safety and hygiene and also on the elimination of accident and health hazards;
- -- increase their concern over the technical state and accompdations of buildings;
- -- induce that employees be fully provided with means of protection and hygiene and also that uniforms be provided for school custodians free of charge;
- -- constantly enforce, in practice, the principle that the managerial staff as well as all employees are equally responsible for safety and hygiene in the place of employment;
- -- develop the activity of branches and the people's labor inspectorate and expand the supervisory functions of plant councils in this field.

The Main Board's Work Inspectorate will offer effective assistance to councils and to the People's Labor Inspectorate and will also consistently use its rights with the aim of exacting binding regulations from the administration.

6) Health Protection

The Congress obligates ZNP echelons and elements to a decided dvelopment of cooperation with appropriate ministries in the area of health care improvement for employees, retirees and pensioners.

Union activity should concentrate itself on:

- supervision over the implementation of rights in the area of medical services; granting of sick leave; preventive-therapeutic services and a policy of compulsory, periodic physical examinations of employees;
- -- cooperation in planning and controlling the use of the fund, for health assistance to all education employees;
- -- assistance in conducting tests of the state of health of teachers and determining from the results indications of occupational diseases;
- -- cooperation with local authorities in the creation of provincial specialistic outpatient clinics for education and science employees, retirees and pensioners on the principles of institutional health services;
- -- striving for a significant increase in the number of referrals for health resort treatment, improving social conditions in its own medical centers, improving work organization in medical establishments and improvement of the quality of services performed.
- 7) Care for Retirees, Pensioners and Children

The Congress obligates school administration elements and ZNP echelons to:

- -- be constantly concerned about the living and health conditions of retired employees, pensioners and their families;
- -- continue efforts for the construction of retirement homes as well as for social assistance in the case of the chronically ill;
- -- make proper allowances for the needs of retirees and pensioners in the area of social services;
- take up efforts for the awarding of government and union distinctions;
- -- create conditions for continued professional and social activity of retirees and pensioners.

Ensuring of care and relaxation during holiday vacations for children of education and science employees and assistance in admission to schools of all kinds should be of constant interest to ZNP echelons and elements. The resolutions of the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher should be strictly adhered to in the matter of following the principle of admitting children of teachers to schools, boarding schools and dormitories. Union departments are given the responsibility of systematically organizing various forms of assistance for children of ZNP members who are preparing to take examinations.

- II. Professional Problems of Education, Higher Schools and Scientific Employees
- 1) Improvement of the System of Education and Upbringing

The Congress is demanding the following from governmental authorities:

-- creation of optimum conditions for continuous, general raising of the level of knowledge, culture and education of society;

-- urgent description of planning-organizational premises of the national education system, corresonding to the present and prospective social, economic and cultural needs of the country and the educational aspirations of our society; -- creation of a uniform educational system which would assure complete permeability between particular types and levels of education in close association with continuing education.

The Congress obliges ZNP members, echelons and elements to active and partnershiplike participation in consultations and the working out of optimal solutions for the educational system corresponding to the needs of society and the convictions of teachers in our country.

Education concerns the entire nation as well as elements of a socialist society and for this reason the Congress is insisting that appropriate financial, personnel and organizational conditions be ensured along with the projected changes.

Along with continuing work on a model of national education, the Congress considers the following to be essential:

- -- making high standard kindergartens common for all 6 year-olds in urban areas as well as in rural communities and considerably accelerating the construction of pre-school centers in order to lower the number of children in departments and to encompass all children with pre-school care in accordance with social needs; -- rapid construction of schools in new, urban housing communities, continuation of the construction and expansion of collective rural parish schools and elimination of overcrowding in school departments;
- -- solving the problem of transporting students to school by the end of 1981 and ensuring proper care for them;
- -- ensuring highly qualified teachers for all institutions and especially for rural areas through, among other things, the introduction of appropriate financial and moral incentives;
- -- increasing the number of awards of distinction and orders for education employees:
- -- guaranteeing students and teachers sufficient amounts of textbooks and reading material as well as educational equipment;
- -- the effective increase of means for the current functioning of schools and education-upbringing institutions;
- -- considerable support and creation of conditions by education and union authorities for the effective development of innovation, expediency and pedagogical progress.

The Congress obliges the Main Board to organize a Teachers' Sejm [Parliament] in order to establish the Union's position on the issue of a national education system.

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons and elements to participate in the creation of the most favorable conditions for the functioning of education and science as well as ensuring optimal capital investment solutions, effective staff and funds management and conducting constant social supervision over them.

The Main Board is obligated to induce the carrying out by the Main School Inspectorate, of a study on the situation of collective rural parish schools in

terms of the base, equipment and working conditions and present the obtained results to the Union.

2) Training Teachers and Improving Their Professional Skills

The Congress is demanding the urgent development, by the ministries of Education and Upbringing as well as Science, Higher Schools and Technology, through close cooperation with the Polish Teachers' Union, of the system of educating and perfecting teachers, which [system] will correspond in its form and substance to the needs of schools and teachers.

The Union is in favor of:

- -- educating teachers in two specializations and making it [education] more practical;
- -- increasing the proportions of enrollment in day studies, extension courses, evening courses in the field of beginning teaching and pre-school instruction;
- -- developing a system of orientation and recruitment of youth into the field of teaching through, among other things, the proper guidance of liberal arts secondary schools:
- -- an unequivocal definition of rights and benefits for teachers attending school (reduced working hours, paid vacations, rewards);
- -- linking teacher enrichment with a system of moral and financial incentives (e.g., levels of qualification);
- -- the rapid implementation of teachers' demands concerning changes in the substance, methods and forms of pedagogical counseling;
- -- working out of objective criteria for the evaluation of teachers' work;
- -- continuing cultural-educational Union activity conducive to the integration of districts, creating varied forms of developing teachers in their profession, their hobbies and artistic talents as well as satisfying their needs in the area of recreation, sports and tourism;
- -- improvement of ideological-pedagogical union activity;
- -- developing methods of adaptation for young teachers and scientific workers in their profession;
- -- ensuring proper social conditions of colleges for teachers taking extension courses and providing them with sufficient textbooks, lecture material and educational material:
- -- inclusion in the process of teacher education and improvement of the most valuable teaching staff in colleges and, particularly, outstanding teaching professionals and methods instructors of particular subject areas.
- 3) Science and the Higher School System

Science and the higher school system exert a vital influence on the development of the national economy and culture. Taking this into account, the Congress is demanding:

-- more complete adaptation of scientific research, higher school system activity and scientific-research institutes to the needs of socio-economic development of the country and, in particular, of industry, agriculture and culture; -- systematic updating of the higher school system with consideration given to all conditions which determine its prospective structure;

- -- modernization of teaching methods in higher schools based on the constant use of activating methods, entrusting pedagogical functions in colleges to exceptionally talented individuals, using a multifactorial system of evaluating university teachers, supporting research which improves teaching methods;
- -- assigning high importance to the teaching functions of the university teacher;
- -- increasing the educational role of the teaching process and self-educating work of students;
- -- developing a system which would ensure candidates for scientific work of the obtainment of high essential and methodological qualifications;
- -- raising the qualifications of adults on the basis of non-institutional, self-educational forms of this process;
- -- making the use of higher school cadres and the scientific-technical base of industry, a common practice in teaching upbringing work;
- -- popularizing new forms of academic instruction, tested in practice, which make it possible to join theory with practice;
- -- working out through consultations with the Union of regulatons: in regard to the higher school system, the Polish Academy of Sciences and scientific research institutes, which would restore the proper rank and independence to higher schools and scientific institutions;
- -- improving and updating higher school management, which expresses itself through, among other things, the referral of school matters to selected rectors and deans as well as giving back greater authority to school self-government.

4) Guidance of Education and Science

The Congress considers the following to be essential:

- -- forming a system of coordination and management of the liberal arts, professional and higher school system;
- -- reactivating and utilizing, in practice, the principle of autonomy of scholars, particularly, in terms of appointing, by way of election, rectors, deans and institute directors;
- -- carrying out of an appropriate staff policy, especially when entrusting managerial positions in schools and scientific-research institutions to highly qualified persons with organizing capabilities, an involved civic attitude, high authority and respect in the community;
- -- creating for the management of educational establishments, colleges and institutes, better conditions and opportunities for carrying out their basic functions by, among other things, counteracting excessive reportorial-administrative and other responsibilities not related to the process of education and organization of scientific research.

The Congress obliges the Main Board to urgently make its appearance before the chairman of the Council of Ministers with the proposal of eliminating the limit on full-time positions for teachers, engineering-technical workers, school workshops and administration in educational establishments as well as the adoption of a policy which would define the extent of employment in relation to the number of departments and compulsory amount of scheduled teaching hours.

III. Organizational Activity

1) Union Self-Government and Democracy

The basic obligation of echelons and elements is to strengthen independence and self-government of union organization as an indispensable condition for effective activity. The Union assumes an autonomous position, independent of administration and one which expresses the opinions and interests of members, in all professional and employee related matters.

The Union obliges all union echelons, as spokesmen and champions of employees' rights and interests, to decidedly make use of, in their work, the rights to which they are entitled and in justified cases to take advantage of the right of dissent towards decisions of administrative authorities in the form of a statute guaranteed by regulations regarding trads or ions.

The Congress is in favor of:

- -- expanding and strengthening the function of intraunion democracy;
- -- observing the democratic process of electing trustees to fulfill union functions;
- introducing a fixed rate of remuneration for social chairmen of plant councils;
- -- evaluating the work of echelons by members;
- -- creating organizational structures enabling particular groups to represent their opinions and defend their interests;
- -- guaranteeing of proper representation with union authorities for all working groups and for retirees and pensioners as well;
- -- expanding and strengthening consultative and advisory functions of union chapters and ensuring for them the opportunity of functioning in accordance with statutory rights;
- -- strengthening the autonomy and responsibility of plant councils as comanagers of education and science in the region of their activity;
- -- expanding the role of union echelons in making decisions on issues of education and upbringing, settling employee related matters, assigning of tasks, evaluating, distinguishing, awarding and distributing of services;
- -- strengthening the program and organization of ZNP echelons and elements;
- -- creating conditions conducive to the effective work of problem solving committees and professional chapters in union echelons;
- -- expediting intraunion information as an indispensable element for the recognition of issues and problems pervading particular working environments and retirees and pensioners, an element for the proper formation of opinion and making optimal union and administrative decisions;
- -- a more effective use of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, of union periodicals and publications in presenting the opinion of ZMP members;
- -- futher continuation of favorable traditions of ZNP's cooperation with social organizations, the Polish People's Army [LWP] and institutions interested in matters of education, science and the teaching profession.

2) Finances and Management

Financial and management activity of ZNP echelons and branches should ensure financial conditions for the realization of goals and statutory tasks.

The Congress obliges:

-- efficient and economical management of union funds with particular consideration given to the needs of plant councils in rural parishes and smaller communities;

- improving the activity of the ZNP Pedagogical and Social Services Center (by, among other things, calling together of management on the central level and improving local branch systems) as well as reinforcing its function of providing for professional and social needs of education and science employees and retirees and pensioners;

-- efficient management of assistance-loan funds and ZNP credit assistance funds, with particular consideration given to the needs of large families, young married couples, retirees, pensioners, teachers attending school and persons beginning

professional work.

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons to:

- -- protect and augment financial holdings and also to reclaim union possessions [objects] taking into account deadline dates determined by legal rules; -- development of social investments, especially those intended for sanatorium and preventive treatment, relaxation after work, sports, tourism, pedagogical self-improvement and cultural-educational activity; -- development of a long-range plan of investment activity and monitoring its
- -- development of a long-range plan of investment activity and monitoring its implementation.
- 3) Research on the Teaching Profession and the Teachers' Union Movement

The Congress obliges the Main Board to assume initatives and definite action concerning the carrying out of research on crucial problems of the teaching profession, its needs, aspirations and social functions.

Research on the history of the teachers union movement should be continued and expanded, especially in terms of covert education and ocience and the martyrdom of teachers and education employees during the Nazi occupation and also Union activity during World War II. The bringing about and publication of a synthesis of ZNP events and history between 1905-1980 is indispensable.

ZNP echelons and their historical committees should inspire, support and propagate research work on the history of teachers and educational unions, development of science and education in Poland, participation of teachers in creating national culture in the past 75-year period, as well as encourage academic employees to take up this subject matter in students' Haster's theses and doctoral as well as post-doctoral degree dissertations.

It is indispensable that extensive popularizing action be carried out, which presents to society the history of the struggles and work of teachers, of education and science employees and union activists on behalf of Polish schools and its [history's] progressive and democratic form.

4) International Activity

The Congress is in favor of active participation in the international teachers' and academic movement which should serve the exchange of information and experience and the strengthening of the solidarity of teachers and science employees.

It is the obligation of the Union to actively participate in the world peace movement, to support initiatives of eliminating tension and conflicts and strengthening peaceful coexistence.

The Congress obliges all union echelons and elements, on the basis of the above program and proposals submitted during the report-election campaign and the postualates of particular working communities, retirees and pensioners presented during the pre-Congress period, to develop a detailed plan for its [the program's] implementation.

The Congress concurs that this program is open in character, thus making it possible for ZNP echelons and elements to take into account initiatives and local proposals which enrich its substance and forms of implementation.

Warsaw October 1980

Resolution of XIII National ZNP Congress

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43 26 Oct 80 p 4

[Text] The XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates is proceeding under conditions of intense renewal of our socio-political and economic life. It marks new meanings, forms and methods of Union work which lead to the strengthening of independence and self-government of echelons and elements, decided protection of the rights of employees, retirees and pensioners, their right to the continual improvement of working and wage conditions, supervision over the observance of law and order in working relationships, involved activity for the improvement of working conditions in schools, learning institutions and scientific-research establishments, raising the authority of teachers and scientific workers in society.

The XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates concurs that teachers, despite severe shortages and neglect in the areas of education, upbringing and science, participated unselfishly in the realization of their professional and civic responsibilities.

The Congress extends words of deep appreciation to education and science employees who, in support of the just goals of the working class, kept vigil by workshops in the care of children and youth.

In acknowledging the constitutional role of the Polish United Workers' Party in the nation, the Polish Teachers' Union is decidedly in favor of continued consistent expansion of socialist democracy, development of irreversible guarantees of truly socialistic forms of democracy and preservation of ideological unity in the professional movement.

The Congress is turning to all ideological-upbringing organizations, to teachers' union organizations, ministries and institutions for the joining of efforts on behalf of improving the preparation of youth for life and work in service to the country.

After hearing a report-programmatic paper of the Main Board and following extensive discussions, the XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates:

-- accepts the report and lecture paper of the Main Board and the Main Audit Commission on ZNP activity during the years 1976-1980;

-- approves the program of activity of the Polish Teachers' Union for the 1980-1983 period;

-- decides upon a temporary statute of the Polish Teachers' Union.

The Congress obliges the Presidium of the Hain Board, on the basis of an approved program of activity, proposals submitted during the report-election campaign and also the demands of working communities, retirees and pensioners, presented during the pre-Congress period as well as proposals of echelons and members referred to the Congress, to work out a detailed plan of its [the program's] implementation and to present it for approval to the ZNP Main Board.

The XIII National Congress of Delegates resolves:

- -- to hold another election of plant and departmental councils in accordance with the wishes of Union members and the ZNP statute;
- -- to hold elections of delegates to district ZNP congresses and elect district ZNP boards;
- to elect delegates to the next XIV ZNP National Congress which should be held in a matter of 6 months;
- -- hold elections in chapters functioning alongside ZNP echelons;
- -- organize and conduct a discussion on the provisional ZNP statute.

The ratified program may be reassessed by the XIV National Congress of ZNP Delegates.

The Congress is turning to all education and science employees, retirees and pensioners; to all union echelons, elements and branches; to members of the Polish Teachers' Union with the appeal that they not spare efforts for the implementation of the adopted program, in the name of the earnest implementation of vital social-existence and professional issues of all aducation and science employees, retirees and pensioners.

ZNP Main Board Officials Listed

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 44, 2 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] ZNP MAIN BOARD OF HIGHER SCHOOLS AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS EMPLOYEES

Boguslaw Baranowski, Romuald Bauer, Maria Baczek, Henryk Bidga, Kazimierz Borkowski, Zygmunt Drabent, Kazimierz Dzialocha, Konrad Firlej, Janina Glanowska, Wieslawa Gniterek, Barbara Grudniewska, Jan Honulak, Wieslaw Jasiobedzki, Marta Jeziorkowska, Andrzej Kaluzinski, Włodzimierz Kalita, Zdzislaw Kordel, Tadeusz Kotik, Teresa Kozanecka, Marek Koziara, Tadeusz Krzoska, Juliusz Kulikowski, Andrzej Kwiatkowski, Robert Leszko, Antoni Lopata, Andrzej Halanowski, Ziemowit Mikolajtis, Roman Mroczkowski, Jerzy Napiorkowski, Ryszard Sangajlo, Henryk Sokol, Romana Steczowicz, Henryk Szarras, Andrzej Szewc, Jan Trynkowski, Hanna Uniejewska, Lidia Wakuluk, Maria Wikariak, Eugeniusz Wnuczak, Jacek Zimny, Tadeusz Zwierzchowski.

Presidium

Wieslaw Jasiobedzki, Andrzej Kaluzinski, Włodzimierz Kalita, Juliusz Kulikowski, Antoni Lopata, Andrzej Malanowski, Henryk Sokol, Romana Steczowicz.

Audit Commission

Jan Kielbasa, Stanislav Koperski, Eugeniusz Lapinski, Jerzy Pioch, Andrzej Sygut, Maria Szomanska, Grzegorz Urbanczyk.

ZNP MAIN BOARD OF EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING EMPLOYEES

Waclay Abramovicz, Bronislay Baclayski, Janina Barazcz, Michal Bielayski, Jozef Bienias, Haria Biernat, Tomasz Blecharczyk, Jan Bogdziewicz, Teresa Bogacz, Mieczyslaw Boruch, Andrzej Budzbon, Zbigniew Cierpka, Janina Chmielewska, Leopold Crekalowski, Eugeniusz Czerkies, Adam Czyz, Edward Czuchaj, Antoni Dalba, Krystyna Drabot, Kazimierz Duszczyk, Maria Fabisiak, Stanielaw Fabisiak, Edward Gajda, Kazimierz Geppert, Franciszek Ginter, Jan Guz, Lidia Gorniak, Bronislawa Gorska, Zofia Grabczak, Stanialaw Grzesniak, Zdzialawa Gnoinska, Krystyna Hajduk, Tadeusz Haranczyk, Kazimierz Hawro, Marian Jablonski, Kazimiera Jastrzebska, Maria Jaszczuk, Tadeusz Jazdzewski, Zygmunt Jesionowski, Krzysztof Kamienski, Stanislawa Kaminska, Jozef Kaminski, Irena Karkosik, Danuta Kaszubowska, Mieczyslaw Kazmierczak, Leokadia Kempska, Eugeniusz Kostekiewicz, Zofia Kucharzyk, Janina Kupiecka, Romuald Kurowski, Czeslawa Kusnierek, Krystyna Kwasniewska, Michal Langowski, Wladyslawa Lewandowska, Danuta Lukowska, Janina Maciejewska, Henryk Majos, Mieczyslaw Marczuk, Jadviga Mendakievicz, Roman Modrzejewski, Miroslav Moraczewski, Stefan Myszczynski, Genovefa Hucha, Wojciech Husial, Ryszard Husiol, Maria Novak, Jadviga Olejniczak, Marianna Olszewska, Maria Otroszczenko, Danuta Pandowska, Mieczyslaw Piatkowski, Zofia Piechoviak, Maksymiliana Pieta, Kazimierz Pilat, Wladyslav Pluta, Jan Porebski, Stanislava Poznanska, Gabriel Rzysko, Slavomir Rutkovski, Maria Rybarczyk, Jadviga Sadovska, Helena Slugocka, Eugeniusz Szczygiel, Roman Szevczuk, Aleksander Szymanski, Anna Siwik, Marian Slusarczyk, Stanielaw Slinko, Irena Twarog, Jan Walkowiak, Krzysztof Wasilewski, Ludwik Wieczorek, Adam Wojakowski, Gabriel Wozniak, Henryk Wojcik, Teresa Wojcik, Zygmunt Wysoczanski, Janina Zarebska, Antoni Zeglen.

Main Audit Commission

Presidium: Kazimierz Makowski--chairman; Jozef Pilinski--vice chairman, Maria Jedryczkowska--vice chairman, Zdzislawa Gebska--secretary, Włodzinierz Lozinski--member of Presidium.

Hembers: Irena Augustynska, Eugeniusz Bak, Halina Cyvinska, Teresa Domeracka, Janina From, Mieczyslaw Gorecki, Genryk Hryciuk, Stanislaw Jaroszewicz, Boleslaw Karwowski, Tadeusz Koloziejczyk, Bogdan Koseman, Maria Kwiatek, Henryk Hatczak, Josefa Mielniczuk, Wanda Mrugala, Wieslawa Olszewska, Tadeusz Peter, Tadeusz Piwowarcki, Stanislaw Plocharczyk, Wieslaw Sasin.

9853

CSO: 2600/343

POLAND

PLAN FOR FUTURE POLISH SCHOOL DESCRIBED

Warsaw AYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Bubien: "The Wroclaw School of the Future"]

[Text] Eight years ago, a group of young college graduates from Wroclaw led by the now, Docent Dr Habilitatus Ryszard Lukaszewicz, decided to develop a comprehensive plan of a school of the future—a school whose graduate would not be merely a passive "seeker of acceptance", a person accepting only that which is acceptable and accepting only those who are accepted. A graduate of the Wroclaw school of the future will be an individual raised in the spirit of cooperation, convinced of the personal effect on the course of events with an independent personality which is capable of thinking alternatively. It is cooperation and not competition which is one of the characteristics of the Wroclaw school of the future. The second guiding principle is to study to be educated and not to have an education.

The Wroclaw plan is one of the possible visions of a school of the future; a vision 15-20 years ahead of the recently planned reform whose "quiet burial" we witnessed several months ago. Research studies on the plan are being conducted by a 15 member interdisciplinary planning group in constant cooperation with approximately 60 representatives of many academic disciplines from the entire country.

How, then, will the school of the future differ from a "traditional school"? There will be many differences. I can assure those who perhaps will not agree with the "madness" of the plan, that its originators are not charlatans but scholars who have devoted eight years of volunteer work to this end, attracting many outstanding representatives of the Polish academic community. The fact that their plan was being met with minimal interest from former education dissidents is, I believe, related to its present state.

The plan envisages abandonment of the classroom-lesson system which implies abandoning the constant division of student work into units of lessons, stages, years; abandoning the division into similar in age classroom groups and the principle of teaching monodisciplinary subjects. Instead, they propose:

-- that the division of student work be flexible and the time norms varied depending on the assignment being worked on. A student taking on an assignment

will know how much time he has to complete the assignment. The amount of time will not be rigorously enforced. As a result of such division, annual grade promotions will be eliminated and replaced by the concept of task [assignment] promotion; i.e., the crediting of assignments will determine academic progress;

-- in accordance with the assumptions of the plan, a student's workplace ought to

be easily modified depending on the presented assignment;

-- the separation of students into groups should be based on the assignment being worked on at the given time. These groups will have a cooperative character. Those with a common interest will be united in the work of one group under the guidance of an instructor specializing in the given field of study.

The selection and structure of the teaching content is already in the final phase of realization; it will be based on two principles. The first is the system of main concept categories rather than the traditional ones. For example, the subject of transportation will contain elements from previous subjects such as physics, mathematics, chemistry, etc. Concepts of those academic disciplines which will integrate knowledge of this subject, will find a place in this subject category. Therefore, a system of concept networks will develop from which it will be possible to isolate in an, as if to say, recurring manner, a complex of information corresponding to, for example, a physics program up to and including the class of secondary school certificate candidates. The second principle: in the realization of each topic, students should be aware of the goals for which knowledge is acquired. Thus, the teaching program will be made up of assignment blocks which will integrate the essence of various academic disciplines.

Naturally, a situation may occur where, for one reason of another, a student will have to change schools. Therefore, a certain parellelism must be maintained with traditional schools in the work speed and teaching content.

According to the concept of the Wroclaw school of the future, children will commence studies in this school already at age 5. They will come to school on their birthday. This is not meant to be some sort of a ritual, although, it might be pleasant for the child to have this day marked by a celebration. Something else is of importance. A lot of attention needs to be devoted to 5 year-olds and it can be managed even when 40 children suddenly appear in school. Each child should be acknowledged, evaluated as to what he already knows, what he is like in terms of social contact, what his cultural shortcomings are. This is possible when a teacher has a group under his care of no more than 15 children. Why from age 5? This is psychologically substantiated. Approximately at this time, a new phase in the development of the child begins: in his thinking, actions, in social processes. During the sixth year of life, a certain regression takes place in the development of all children, a so called, bottomless pit of 6 year-olds.

This first period of time spent in school will have an adaptational character and will last approximately 2 years. The youngest students in the school will enjoy a certain autonomy expressed in such an arrangement of space so as to permit them to find their own place for playing and rest and which will guarantee them a feeling of security. These will be interior open spaces. During this first phase, creative activity is stressed around three concepts: sound, motion and word.

The second phase, called play-learning will last 3 years. The creators of the plan believe that the transition from play to studies must occur naturally. There will

be no classroom but rather class management—the transitional form between kindergarten and school.

The third, lasting several years, and last phase of school will be a learning-productive period. Learning, based on solving presented tasks is a continuation of studies from the two previous periods. However, the term, productive, needs to be explained. The authors of the plan feel that young people should have the opportunity for longer or shorter trials of becoming familiar with or even of assuming work in various places: factories, hospitals, offices, etc. The point here is to avoid making a choice of specialization or work "in the dark".

The period of adaptation and play-learning will be based on the natural, so called, primitive bonds of students. In time, purely task groups will form as a result of the type of task performed.

A separate problem is the construction of a school whose architecture would correspond to the plan as a whole, to the methods and goals of upbringing and education in the school of the future. This is not a matter of something super modern, of the glass and aluminum type, but of a school which would be universal and not only meant for this project. Architects cooperating with the Wroclaw planning group have already developed such a plan. The school building will not be fenced in. In the school of the future, there will be an information-instruction center: library, reading-rooms, places for individual work, catalogs, thesauri of information, audio-visual aids, duplicating machines. Around the center, seminar rooms will be situated in various spots, which can be made smaller or enlarged by connecting with others. Each of these rooms can accomodate 10-15 persons. In place of the old assembly hall (locked in many schools and opened on "special occasions") a forum is proposed—a meeting place for the entire school and a place for the exchange of ideas. The school forum with back-up facilities and an amphitheatre will be a place for showing films and presentations of drama students.

As in some traditional schools, so in the school of the future, there will also be a series of laboratory-workshops: art, music, physics, etc. The school hall will be a place for the exposition of artistic work of not only students but also of guest artists. Members of school organizations will find a place for themselves in club rooms. A swimming pool, gym as well as a place for large construction of, for example, sailboats, complete the list of school accomodations. Around the school, there will be a "battle field", in other words, a playground with a difference however, in that it will not be cement or asphalt.

The preparation of teachers for work in this school is also a constituent element of the new vision of a school of the future. There will be about 50 of them [teachers] for approximately 420 students. Specialized subject teachers—mathematicians, Polish language and literature teachers, physicists, etc. will go through a 2-year program of post diploma studies after college graduation. At that time, they will learn work methods of this school and at the same time, they will participate, in a practical sense, in the entire series of plans which are already being implemented in part in some Wroclaw schools and kindergartens.

The second method of preparing teachers for the needs of this school would depend on isolating the experimental process of pedagogical studies and including a specially

written plan of studies also containing information from the field of general pedagogics. If the first group of subject teachers fulfills the assumptions of the substance of teaching, then the fundamental task of the second group would be upbringing.

The third group of teachers are practitioners—persons for whom teaching in the school is really going well, who obtain excellent educational results. As a rule, these are teachers who are extremely popular with their students.

Is this in the near or distant future? Up to the present time, instructional and general educational assumptions have already been worked out for the Wroclaw plan of a school of the future. The detailed concept of teaching methods is in its final phase while the system of its contents [tresci] is half prepared.

Overlooking financial considerations, although these are also important, the practical implementation of this plan could already is started in 4 years under favorable conditions. During 8 years of work, not a single consultation to discuss the merits of the plan took place between the ministry representatives and the planning team. A lack of clear-cut decisions by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing in regard to the undertaking of this experiment hinders work on the school of the future. "Originally I had thought that"--remarks the planning group leader, Docent Dr Habilitatus Ryszard Lukaszewicz, "if the ministry is not saying no, then that already is significant and many things can be done." But in the moment which we are approaching, some sort of decision must be made because this structure which will be built in the area of Wroclaw, within the framework of a normal school network, requires approval for an individual plan as well as approval for the experimental implementation of the school plan.

Until December of last year, the education authorities referred to the plan of the Wroclaw school of the future with skepticism. According to the authors of the plan, the misgivings of the education authorities result from a fear of losing comprehensive control over the school system as well as from a reluctance to experiment.

Many persons interested in the problem of education have doubts whether the plan for the school of the future stands a chance of success. Several elements in this plan whose principles I have presented in a very general manner, can only be proven through their practical implementation—something that the authors themselves admit. In this sense, this will be a school-laboratory. Unfortunately, an answer to the question—to what extent this experiment will be successful, cannot be determined by any academic discussions.

9853

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SOCIOLOGY FACE TO FACE WITH SOCIO-HUMAN REALITIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 81 pp 7-12

[Article by Petru Panzaru of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "Sociology Face to Face With Socio-Human Realities;" written with regards to Achim Mihu's article in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12,1981 "Values and Limits in Current Romanian Sociology"]

[Text] We can finally say that "the ice has been broken." A serious and long-awaited and needed discussion about the status and current duties of Romanian sociology began with ERA SOCIALISTA's publication of the articles signed by Achim Mihu and Vasile Miftode.

Thus, we have taken the repeated advice of the party and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who said that "science can only develop through a free confrontation of opinions and ideas. Certainly, especially in the field of the social sciences, there are and there will inevitably appear theses and opinions that can be discussed and criticized. We should not be afraid of this; the main fear and main danger are in not carrying out research activities because of the fear of making a mistake, just copying what others do."

It is clear that a subject of research, reflection and discussion can be the status, level of development and the values and limits of a science itself, in this case with regards to sociology and psycho-sociology, with the discussion capable of bringing about a more adequate understanding of their place and mission in Romania's economic-social, political and cultural affairs. It can also bring about an increase in their contributions, together with all the other sciences about man and society, to the achievement of the truly complex objectives of the new stage of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society, as they were defined in the documents of the 12th Party Congress and in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils (June 1981). And, in the center of all economicsocial activities during the current stage, which also requires the contributions of the social sciences, the party has placed the achievement of a new quality in work and life, the broad application of the advances of technical-scientific revolution, the powerful development of science and education - fundamental factors for creating the new order, and the raising of the professional and cultural levels of all the workers.

It is not risky or "pro domo" to say that, especially during the last decade, as a result of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress regarding "the reinstatement" of sociology's natural rights and the resumption of the rich and original research from the pre-war era on a new level, sociology in Romania (regarded as having an inseparable and organic relationship with psycho-sociology) has had appreciable results which, when speaking of theoretical, methodological or purely didactic contributions, are still awaiting an intrinsic evaluation, and, when speaking of the conclusions of certain specific regional investigations or investigations in industrial economic units, agricultural units, cultural institutions and so forth, are still awaiting implementation. It is worth noting that in the last decade in the quasi-totality of the country's counties, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations or at the request of different economic-social and cultural units, specific sociological and psycho-sociological research was carried out on a greater or lesser scale that was partially or not at all given publicity and, thus, sufficiently unknown on a national scale.

It is truly the time to concentrate our attention and analysis, as Achim Mihu and Vasile Miftode did, on those elements and factors, be they "within" sociology and psycho-sociology or outside of them, which unjustifiably delay the full use of these possibilities, the growth of their contribution to the understanding and resolution of the problems facing our society and their employment in essential areas that have been avoided until now, such as, for example, the area of literary and artistic creative work, literary critique and the area of international relations.

In order to more clearly outline the need to discuss the "status" of sociology and psycho-sociology in Romania, as a condition for the proper flow of future research, I will paraphrase a statement of a renown literary critique: when sociologists argue, sociology moves ahead; when they are all in agreement, sociology stagnates.

Certainly, sociology cannot be constructively critical (one of the conditions for being a science) without being constructively self-critical (one of the conditions of being aware of the times).

Sociology "is carried out" in laboratories, research centers, in faculties, in the field among human collectives in industrial, agricultural, commercial, transportation, cultural-educational units and so forth, and there should no longer be any need "to discuss" sociology in the pages of magazines and books - a possible and probable objection implicitly and explicitly convincingly rejected by the preceding articles. The climate in which sociology lives and coexists with other sciences, the specific functions that it has to carry out in the family of social-political and humanist sciences and the chances for development and broader social use of its products, both the theoretical ones and those stemming from specific regional, local or microsocial investigations, are real subjects for discussion which themselves dispel any objections or frequently encountered reservations of certain institutionalized sociologists regarding a confrontation

of open, broad, multilateral and specific opinions on the manner in which sociology "is carried out" today in Romania, regarding the stage that it has reached and regarding the mentalities, views and attitudes that nourish it, "undernourish" it, favor it or put it at a disadvantage.

In order to have a full validation of the functions of sociology and a scientific understanding and explanation of the new social phenomena on the national and international levels and of its tasks in contributing to the practical achievement of the programmatic objectives of the new stage that socialism has entered in our country, it seems of primary and maximum importance to me to exactly circumscribe its subject matter and its allied relationships with the other social and political sciences. This means, on one hand, not confusing or substituting, either in didactic activities or in actual scientific research activities, sociology with sociological theories and doctrines or with sociological investigative methods and techniques and, on the other hand, understanding and using them, not for the purpose of being intellectually "photogenic" or avoiding reality, but exclusively for the purpose of creating a theoretical-epistemological and methodological "arsenal" necessary for investigating national social realities at the global, regional and local levels within the context of current international relations.

To clearly distinguish the subject matter of sociology as a science of current social realities and as the subject matter of the history of sociological doctrines, systems and theories, means placing yourself on the path of directly studying social affairs and not the proposals of diverse authors regarding a radical social existence and accepting the synthetically-formulated just idea put forth by Achim Mihu that sociology "studies the social actions of people who constitute the existing society" and that the subject matter of sociology is "the analysis of the notional peculiarities of the social fabric." Vasile Miftode similarly presents the problem when he writes correctly that "the social evaluation of a science - and this fact is even more valid in the case of sociology depends upon the manner in which it is involved and makes its presence known in the solution of certain problems stemming from the affairs and the practice of developing our society." Finally, with good reason Grigore Zanc asks our sociologists and the specialized sociological and politological magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL "to become more directly and efficiently involved in the solution of the problems facing socialist society and the contemporary world" (TRIBUNA, No 28, 9 Jul 81, p 5).

When sociology is predominantly presented as a succession of sociological theories (doctrines), then it appears as a "science" that summarizes that which is known and the sociologist appears as a "talking bibliographic index." Clearly, contemporary sociology, as a science that wants to have the most complete view of social realities, cannot exist and cannot achieve its gnosiological, explicative, predictive and practical functions except under conditions where, to begin with, its professionals critically assimilate and selectively use the valuable earlier national and foreign theoretical findings. And, "to carry out" sociology means

studying current social realities and not leaving yourself to merely present sociological theories and doctrines, as is frequently done in so-called "Introductions to Sociology." Therefore, we must have a resulting distinction between the research sociologist who carries out sociology and the sociologist who teaches sociology: the first gives priority to making statements about surrounding social events and realities; the latter normally composes statements about the pronoucements of other authors, quotes them, comments on them and so forth, spreading the knowledge of them or teaching them.

The purpose of a so-called sociological text is not to communicate to the reader how many books the author read or wrote, but how he presents and interprets, with the help of different authors, immediate social-human realities and the affairs of people, groups and society. "The review," or more precisely, the scientific analysis of life and not literature about social affairs must decisively be given first priority, and, I repeat, without creating an artificial opposition between the text and the context. The specialized bibliographies must be critically reviewed through and by the "bibliography" of real life.

We must firmly and explicitly reserve our consideration and public respect only for those sociologists who effectively broaden the limits of scientific knowledge about our society, offer valuable suggestions for the improvement of social activities, produce thorough, substantial books, studies and research papers containing original elements and having broad interdisciplinary openings in which the ideas and points of views of the authors in Romania are discussed with interest and on a priority basis, complete specific investigations in their own or collective works, communicating the most significant results in adequate and accessible forms, make efforts so that the majority of these works can be transformed from works "for internal use" into works "for foreign use" and participate in discussions and confrontations regarding ideas, being true agitators in the country's cultural and spiritual affairs, generally through their continuing presence in journalism.

There is an abuse of the terms science and scientific. Let us be clear: Is (it must be) scientific sociology or the science of sociology (as well as other socio-human sciences) anything else but a group of statements having a certain degree of coherent generality from a logical point of view referring to a specific historical social reality and especially having a high degree of truth and correspondence with the reflected realities and their essence? These statements cannot and must not be foreign to or removed from the review and checks of all the representatives of the social sciences and especially the reviews and checks on behalf of the daily social practices of millions of people.

The truth is the superordinate category of the sciences in general and, as a result, of the sociohuman sciences, including sociology and psycho-sociology. It would be a mistake to underestimate the particular nature and difficulties of discovering, formulating and socializing the sociological and psychological

truth. The subjects of these sciences are human subjects and the activities and relationships between them under objective, specific historical social conditions. It is said that "the truths lies in deeds," but we must immediately add that "the truth lies in recognizing events," keeping in mind that it is basically the connection between statements and complex and contradictory social-human realities. On the path from objective (overall, bare) social events to the truth (statements) about them, many dangers crop up.

Today, the sociologist, as well as the persons who sincerely want to benefit from the results of his work in research and discovery regarding the social truth, must be warned that in the social-human sphere there are many types, degrees or "stages" of reality and events that directly or indirectly serve as subjects for scientific research (sociological research) and that cannot be confused without the risk of avoiding or falsifying the truth: 1) the existence of an objective, so-called social-human (and natural) reality in the strictest acceptance of the term, a primary, fundamental and essential factual reality, a reality of the "first degree;" it is social life itself as such with all its components and determining factors; 2) the existence, then, of a specific social reality, let w say of a "second degree," an objectively subjective reality (secondary) composed of words (statements) about the primary reality and about events; it is a cognitive reality created from the language at the level of social and individual avareness, scientific knowledge and common avareness, with its variable degrees of adequacy for objective reality; 3) finally, the existence of a socio-intellectual "reality" of the "third degree" ("tertiary") created from "words about words" (statements about statements, opinions about opinions, theories about theories and so forth). Not confusing (substituting) and not isolating these types and degrees of social-human "realities" allow us to see the skill and rigors of sociological and psychological investigations in their entirety and their values of truth.

In conclusion, I must state in a preemptory manner that the subject matter of scientific sociology, in general, is living, specific, current social-human REALITY itself viewed in all its dimensions and correlations in a systematic, integrated and dynamic manner. And, the subject matter of Romanian sociology represents the study of social realities (activities, relations, events, phenomena, processes, contradictions, institutions) in our country in the context of the contemporary era and the "in vivo" study of micro- and macrosocial interations and all the areas of our social affairs.

The problems of contemporary Romanian sociology are the problems of our socialist society on the way to multilateral development, under especially complex international conditions.

There are confusions and reductions that should be dispelled instead of being maintained. Not infrequently sociological and psycho-sociological research or investigations are identified and reduced to the elaboration, application and

processing of certain questionnaires sprinkled with dozens of questions having hundreds of response variations. Between the researcher and his subjects thousands of words intervene, words that are recorded on standard mailbox forms, which frequently mortify or schematicize living, diverse, particular human reality, a reality that is difficult or impossible to reflect in the columns of the questionnaire. Those persons who delve into or merely take advantage of this segment of sociological or psycho-sociological research are inclined to attribute scientific rigors and objectivity only to those investigations based upon this procedure and to eliminate from the realm of sociological research the analyses and reflections, even profound and truth-bearing ones, that are not accompanied by statistics, tables, percentages, correlations and so forth.

There are tendencies and phenomena that should displace the ruthless nature of polemics: "the theoretical delirium," as well as the narrow-minded empiricism; the documentary torrents, as well as factual anemia; the bland tone of supposedly objective findings, as well as the application of adjectives to realities; the accumulation of platitudes and ambiguities, produced in "specialized" terminology designed to encipher the banalities, as well as the academic "arrogance;" boring texts and works of a murky technical nature lacking the tensions of life and the gift of inspiration and imagination and lost in the desert of methodical mediocrity, to use the expressions in the exciting book (and for a sociologist) by Lucian Raicu ("Reflections Upon the Creative Spirit"). So as not to be removed from the truth of life, the investigative methods and techniques must "be subordinate to scientific theory" (V. Miftode), must be the expression of a view of man and of human nature and essence in their living actions in a social-historical space and time or, at least, it must be subjected to a control on the part of just such an authentic and consistent humanistic view.

Social investigative methods and techniques are not themselves sociology, as some practitioners of the discipline appear to understand, but rather its instruments, its working "tools" and the paths of access to the subject matter, which remains, again and again, social-buman realities. In having a functional organic unity with sociological theory, epistemology, methodology and research techniques have as a unified purpose the knowledge and understanding of real social processes, the uncovering of latent tendencies and an opportunity to express technological skills.

A judicious evaluation regarding sociology and its mission has been formulated by Basil Bernstein in one of his studies entitled "The Sociology of Education - A Summary Report," in which he writes: "Contemporary sociology offers a poorly coordinated group of theories and practices, but it is extraordinarily prolific in its methods and analyses. Sociological imagination should make visible that which is made invisible by the institutional procedures of society and the daily practices of its members."

It is not absolutely necessary for us to await the establishment of a "sociology of sociology" (and we already have a sufficient number of sociologies) in order to admit that sociology as a science is either (also) reflexive or it is neither sociology nor science. Only through the intermediary of the reflex can sociology and psychosociology achieve that "go-come" relationship between the macrosocial and the microsocial, between overall society, with its specific instutitions, laws, values and norms, and the microgroups that form it, and between social events and human stories.

Scientific reflection (why not also philosophical reflections?) saturated with significant events of life and reflexivity, in general, are strictly necessary to sociology not only to avoid sociography, factography and "flying at low altitudes," to avoid the tax paid to circumstances and to "cut" the tangled knot of prejudice and comfortable appearances, but also to fulfill one of its most important functions: that of the future, that of being predictive.

For sociology, there is no "better" way by virtue of being marginal, "provincial" or becoming subordinate, except by the arrogant break from philosophy and the other social sciences, especially from the economic, political, juridic sciences and the science of social management, except by limiting its functions to that of "an annex" or a technical-methodological "adjunct" to the other social sciences or to the disciplines of high education having a casual access to the specific research of economic-social realities.

The destiny of sociology "as a part of scientific and spiritual affairs of our society," as is well said by Achim Mihu, and the blending of its gnosiological and praxiological functions, as well as its political and cultural-educational ones, are directly tied to the preservation and improvement of the statute of a theoretical-applied discipline with its specific nature and appreciable contributions to the general effort of the social-political sciences for improving, rationalizing and humanizing social relations, organization and management in our society.

The logic itself of the specific subject matter of sociology (social reality in its entirety with all its dimensions: economic, political, juridic, institutional, cultural-artistic, religious and so forth) requires the sociologist and the psychosociologist to assimilate a multilateral philosophical and scientific culture, requires them to be open, receptive and informed regarding a great number of fields of knowledge and culture, and requires them to reject what Mircea Malita calls "the slavery of specialization" (narrow), mono-thematicism and living within the shell of a sub-branch. Certainly, especially today under the conditions of the proliferation of the family of sciences and "its members" and of the information "explosion," the sociologist, as well as the economist, to use a bit of Calbraith's wit, "cannot know everything, but he cannot omit anything" essential that is occurring in the society in which he lives, from demography,

economics and ecology to the arts and literature. Only if the "intellectual fortress" of sociology keeps its doors and windows wide-open to all the other social sciences and only if it expresses an authentic interpluri- and trans-disciplinary spirit will it be able to "cover" the subject matter and make a specific contribution to the understanding and improvement of the macro- and microsocial conditions of man.

Like any other field of scientific knowledge, the field of sociology and psychosociology also requires competency and specialized, professional training. It is natural and necessary to plead in its favor and for us to be concerned about the new personnel. But, sociologists and psycho-sociologists should not isolate themselves from other specialists and professionals or from the broader public, within which they should be intensively active, including within the press, radio and television.

No matter how paradoxical it might appear, sociology and the sociologists carry out their specific social mission not only to the degree in which they produce specialized studies and research, which are eventually read by their colleagues, but also to the degree in which the spirit, vision and methods of sociology and psycho-sociology are assimilated and applied by non-sociologists and are regarded as indispensable in the work carried out by economists (theoreticians and practitioners), engineers, managers in ministries and industrial centers, collective leaderships in units involved in industry, construction, transportation, trade, agriculture, in institutions of education, culture, press, radio, television, public health and so forth.

In a socialist society programmatically centered on man as an active, productive, creative, participative and consolidative factor and as a principal user of economic-social, technical-scientific and cultural progress, the triumph of the humanist view over the technocratic, productivist and narrow-economist view depends to a great degree upon the penetration of the sociological and psychosociological spirit in all the social-human sciences and in all the spheres of social leadership, organization and activity. This is even more true since, as is pointed out by the authors of the valuable work on applied sociology and psychosociology "The Human Development of the Industrial Enterprise" (Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1981, coordinated by Catalin Zamfir): "The human factor becomes, under the new conditions, an ever more important source of efficiency for all activities that are organized and especially for work," with there existing "ever more powerful pressures in the direction of humanizing work as a component part of improving the quality of life" (p 302).

A separate importance for increasing the degree of sociology's functionality here in Romania on all three of the connected levels where it simultaneously carries out its efforts (theoretical-epistemological, technical-methodological and praxiological) is the understanding and correct treatment of the relationships

between sociology and psycho-sociology, sister disciplines so closely bound that not infrequently they either continue to lose their specific nature and relative autonomy or to attempt to absorb and artificially subordinate one to the other. And, in this case, the solution to the dilemma and the conclusions to the uselessly extended dispute can be formulated by firmly beginning 1) with the data of social realities themselves, which are not either sociological (objective) or psycho- (socio-) logical, but a complex and integral structure (subjective), which are not merely macrosocial and impersonal, but also microsocial and interpersonal and so forth; 2) with the experiences and results shown in the collective and individual works published here in Romania and in other countries.

And, what do these works demonstrate? By virtue of the fact that social reality (life) is the dynamic unity between strictly objective factors and subjective ones and is the living interaction of social and individual existence and awareness, be it theoretical or applied, it is at the same time (and it cannot otherwise be) of a psycho-sociological nature. In according to the objective facets the essential and determining role and place that it has, the sociological explanation cannot ignore the components of a mental, psychic and psycho-social nature in social affairs and the motivational, primarily psycho-social, factors.4 Similarly, by being concerned with the study of the social structures and the evolution of these structures, social institutions and organizations and their functionality (or, especially, their dysfunctionality) during a given historical period, the study of the influence and collisions of the values-norms systems that guide the human community and the study of the social classes, categories and strata that intercondition each other in a national society, sociology will necessarily associate itself with the views, methods and techniques of psychosociology and it will give equal attention to the social structure, the collective and the personality. Only in this manner does it avoid the risk of making an "inaccurate reading" of the social-human realities that it subjects to investigation. In brief, metaphorically speaking, sociology without psycho-sociology is just like an organism, like a body without eyes, without arms, without legs ...

Along this line of thinking, I cannot but express my surprise and, furthermore, my regret that both Vasile Miftode and Achim Mihu in the articles to which I have referred (but not in their works and research) ignore psycho-sociology "as if" it were not the twin sister of sociology, "as if" one could make a valid statement about social activities and relations and about a living, specific-historical society without the psycho-sociological categories. That is why, in filling in this - I am convinced involuntary - gap in the articles of these previous writers, I feel it is necessary to insist upon the correlation between sociology and psycho-sociology as an expression of the organic unity between the objective and the subjective and between social existence and social awareness.

Why, in the current stage of both science and social practice, is it appropriate to give special attention to the psychological and psycho-social components of social activities and relations of all types and at all levels?

First, given the specific nature itself of these activities and relations (belonging to people, aware and active beings), because the psychological and psycho-social factors are socio- and omnipresent and, even if in society not everyting is of a psychological and psycho-social nature, in fact without them nothing is truly social and human. In a practical sense, the activities and relations in all the vital sectors of social affairs (from the economic and political to the scientific, technical, organizational, cultural, educational and so forth) cannot be carried out and achieved without the decisive participation of psychological (general-human) and psycho-social (specific-historical) factors which directly and indirectly reflect the objective conditions of the natural-social existence of people engaged in interactions (see the article "Social Responsibility and Action," published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 13/1980).

Second, because these factors, as constitutive elements of the social fabric and although important and significant, are normally ignored or placed on a secondary level and dealt with in a view inversely proportional to the role that they play in social dynamics, to the point of damaging social science and practice. Along this line of thinking, we should note the lack of consideration given to the psycho-social effects of certain insufficiently considered measures, certain abnormal states of affairs or certain styles of work and leadership that are opposite to the declared principles of socialist democracy.

Third, because the sociological, economic and politological analyses themselves find in most cases that in the current stage of our socialist construction, when objective conditions have been created (material, economic, institutional, juridic and organizational conditions) in accord with the essence of socialist society, the cause of certain difficulties, unequal performance (under equal objective conditions) or the repeated failure to achieve certain established objectives and tasks are frequently of a psycho-social nature (concepts, sentalities, behaviors, attitudes, opinions, morale, climate and so forth, and the lack of agreement with the requirements for certain socialist social relationships).

routth, but not last in importance, because the changes (we would even want mutations) in the so influential area of individual and social psychology (by group and collective) do not have their rate and depth in synchronization (even less instantaneously) with the radical and relatively rapid transformations in the sphere of economic-social and objective organizational realities. The changes in social and individual awareness, with awareness by definition being a psychological and psycho-social fact, are subjected to other laws, rates and procedures than those transformations in the objective social existence of people.

It is sufficient for us to give as an example the resistance to change and the repetitiveness of the private and individual psychology in order for us to understand how important and current is the task established in the Party's Program, and frequently repeated in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, of not adopting a fatalist attitude regarding shortfalls in social, and psychological, awareness concerning the new socialist social existence, and of working so that the efforts with the people and their education will be one of the central concerns of the party organizations and an essential facet of their political-educational activities, as well as all their activities.

Certainly, the accent placed on the organic unity and lucrative cooperation (gnosiological, methodological and at the level of field research) between sociology and psycho-sociology should not lead to either the psychologization of sociology (and other social-human sciences) or the sociologization (in general) of social psychology. The problem was clearly settled by Miron Constantinescu in his "Introduction to Sociology" (1972), in which he wrote, among other things: "Social psychology in the general system of the social sciences and in a just correlation with sociology has its important role in scientific research. We will maintain the need for collaboration between sociology and psychology... Social psychology in a precious ally of sociology, a main component of the orchestra of social sciences; ...therefore, recognizing the legitimacy of this science, we cannot identify it either with sociology and, even less so, admit to an inter-changeability of positions, substituting social psychology for sociology" (pp 156-158).

Just as we cannot favor one of the methods and techniques available to us over another, sociology and psycho-sociology cannot refuse a single source of information, be it primary or secondary, regarding the social-human realities that they study. Above and beyond the statistics, numbers and percentages, they must find and see the people, their deeds, their motivations and their mentalities. To this end, not only can the mathematical methods and techniques serve them, but also, for example, the careful and reflexive study of the daily press and the annual collections of decisions by the Supreme Tribunal, real sociological and psycho-sociological "novels" for those who know how to read them, as well as the study, from a sociological and psycho-sociological perspective, of contemporary Romanian fiction in literature which, in its better aspects, has offered truths about our society and its people that the social sciences did not uncover, although they were and still are charged with doing just that.

Certainly, fictional literature and scientific literature cannot be substituted one for the other, but with each serving in its own way the same purpose, they must remain joint communicators in the efforts to discover, state and socialize the truth and make us take the step ourselves in the society in which we live in the effort to improve and make more beautiful the daily life of all people. The writer and the sociologist who live in a space saturated by the specific and by events have a common creed and a similar restriction, as stated long ago by Ion Ghica: "I do not permit myself to write except when I can tell the truth."

And, the conclusion of the writer and the sociologist will also be the same: yes, life must be changed! Since not just life must have an effect upon sociology, but sociology together with psycho-sociology are called upon to have an effect upon the evolution of social affairs.

With good reason, the authors of the articles about sociology in ERA SOCIALISTA came out in favor of the priority formulation and research of certain priority themes and for their listing according to the importance that they have in relationship to the current and broader future concerns (therefore, the problems) of our socialist society. This value selection represents an antidote for the routine spirit of dealing with certain themes that, over time, become marginal in nature and importance, as pointed out by Achim Mihu, and for the tendency of grinding out research, as well as for the mirage of exhaustivity. With regards to this, the question can be clearly asked, one which also contains a straightforward answer: What should be of priority concern to the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist if not that which is of priority concern to our society itself, its living and real people, by the socio-professional, residential and age categories?

In the perspective of the furthering socialist workers' democracy, of broadening the channels of social communication from bottom to top and of the masses participating not only in the achievement, but also in the elaboration and adoption of decisions, there must be a continuous broadening of the idea of "social instructions" addressed to the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist in the sense suggested by Achim Mihu: "Sociological investigations should also be carried out at the suggestion of those "on the bottom," that is, those who directly carry out the activities in production."

In applying the sociological and psycho-sociological methods themselves, it would be appropriate to "inventory" not only that which is being studied more or less frequently and thoroughly in the specialized studies, research efforts and projects, but also (or especially) that which is not studied at all or is dealt with in an auxiliary and timid manner. Among these themes - of maximum importance keeping in mind both their incidence in life and behaviors in the concerns of the great human masses and especially in the physical time and psychic energies they consume in the non-duplicatable lives of human individuals -I would list: the degree of satisfying, under normal and rational conditions, the material (consumer) needs of the different categories in the population, as well as the needs of a spiritual and cultural nature that are subjected to criteria other than the first needs, necessitating a vast and permanent effort to stimulate, orientate and channel; the real means of improving the quality of life (of work, civic, family and leisure life) for the different categories of workers; the substantial improvement of interhuman and intersocial communications at the microand macrosocial levels and the establishment of true "communication groups" that will block or gradually decrease the current giant loss of social and personal time, time that is taken up by redundant communications in long meetings and other

forms of material consumption of time and in reporting sessions having a bureaucratic or formal nature, as well as in ritual verbal behaviors and so forth (this is a case precisely for the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist to acutely state the problem that the efficiency and productivity of economicsocial, political-ideological, educational and other activities depend not only on the level of technical-material equipment, but also to a decisive degree upon the "productivity" of communications, the conciseness and precise of these communications and their accuracy); the prevention of anti-social phenomena and negative behaviors, including relapses and tendencies of proliferating individualism and privatism (so rooted in the psychology of private property); the energetic and efficient combatting of bureaucratic mentalities and behaviors in their "classic" forms and also in their "renovated," modernized and cloaked forms of the language of "socialist" terminology; the means of educating and generalizing democratic trends and behaviors, knowing that the democratic forms and institutions created by our society do not become functional and do not achieve their purposes except under conditions of a psycho-social climate favorable to the free formulation and expression of opinions and constructive criticism from below and of respect in the daily life for the norms and precepts of participative, responsible and creative socialist democracy; the means of promoting the authentic values, creative initiatives and new things in the sharp struggle against the routine and the conservative, against imposition and incompetence.

Of major importance is the "alliance" between sociology, psycho-sociology and the science of managing the socialist society. This alliance alone is responsible for a greater sensitivity in the collective decisionmaking organs at all levels regarding the key problems of immediate, social-human consequences, as well as long-term consequences, for different measures and decisions and the rates and correctness with which the adopted measures are achieved or not, and upon the validity and opportuneness themselves of some of these measures. Sociological and psycho-sociological research carried out in advance or during activities, including public opinion polls, could offer the opportunity to prevent or to make anticipated corrects to certain draft decisions or measures who effects do not agree with the programmed purposes or intentions that motivated them. Thus, there could be a decrease in the number of resolvable, but unresolved problems that repeatedly end up on the daily agenda of the meetings of collective leadership organs, and there could be more rapid progress in all fields.

Sociologists could provide an immense, practical and effective service to our socialist society if they could get their sociological technique of content analysis to penetrate and become a current work method in the system of mass communications, as well as in those institutions that receive and must annually resolve thousands, tens or hundreds of thousands of letters from citizens. Through this, there would be a more precise and effective understanding of the concerns and opinions of the masses and the areas in which social problems and tensions appear in an incipient or latent manner, offering the competent organs the opportunity to provide a timely solution of these problems and to prevent the transformation of certain contradictions into disturbing conflicts.

No discipline of the spirit, and sociology belongs to the region of the spiritual, with its specific rigors, ever developed anywhere without discussions, and not occasional, sporadic ones of a "campaign," but rather permanent ones as a natural component part of the process itself of achieving the theoretical and practical objectives of science. That is why, in presenting several points of view in the discussion hosted by ERA SOCIALISTA, I expressed my hope that one of its specific valuable effects will be the establishment of a permanent critical discussion by sociologists and non-sociologists — in the different publications, including social-cultural and literary ones, but especially in VIITORUL SOCIAL — on the state of affairs and morale in the sphere of socio-human sciences, especially on those published and unpublished works, on research that has been completed, finalized and publically communicated and on the realities themselves that these investigations are trying to work to uncover the essence, dynamics, difficulties and contradictions and to formulate optimum solutions in all the fields of social affairs.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. It should be no less ignored or minimized the evaluations and conclusions of certain sociologists having a vast experience in scientific research; H. H. Stahl recently wrote: "Direct contact with the tragedies and joys of the people as a man and not as a researcher frequently overshadows greatly theoretical efforts. For that reason, I feel sorry for those "researchers" who go about in a world that is broad and strange to them armed only with a miserable "questionnaire" drawn up at home that is dry and weak, with the empty illusion that they will obtain answers through a "yes" or a "no" to all their questions. In this manner, they think they have been very successful, when in reality all they have is a collection of dead items greatly removed from what life itself is" ("Reflections and Thoughts From the Old School of 'Sociological Monographs'", "Minerva" Publishing House, 1981, p 62).
- 2. B. Bernstein, "Studies on the Sociology of Education," the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1978, p 37 and so forth.
- 3. It is good when the daily press reproduces (unfortunately it is sufficiently infrequent) through the writing of its reporters the results of certain socio-psychological research efforts in economic units, but it is not good that the sociologists and psycho-sociologists themselves cannot get permanent columns in all the types of publications that they could continually supply with the results of their investigations or their reflections under their own by-line. I believe that the staffs at the newspapers, magazines, radio and television would be receptive to such initiatives for a systematic, permanent cooperation with competent sociologists and psycho-sociologists having the experience and the writing ability.

- 4. A recent remarkable work dedicated to this central theme in the social sciences is from Catalin Mamali: "Motivational Balance and Co-evolution" appeared in "The Library of Sociology" from the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, which publishes in a salutary manner books that fortunately can be classified with difficulty as "pure" sociology or "pure" psycho-sociology. The title of the collection could even be expanded to: "The Library of Romanian Sociology and Psycho-sociology."
- 5. It is true, certainly, writes Gordon Allport in his classical work "The Structure and Development of the Personality" (1937, 1961, Romana Publishing House, 1981) that the personality is molded by the social environment and is itself expressed within the framework of this environment. Nonetheless, "it is a system in itself and deserves to be studied as such... Currently, we do not have the right to wall ourselves in and discourage any path for conducting an investigation into human nature. Narrow dogmatism is improper... Specific human life... represents the only manner in which human life is lived" (Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1981, pp 8, 9).
- 6. Directly considered together, sociology and psycho-sociology do not have, as V. Miftode unfortunately states, "principal" techniques (which involve "merely" the investigation of social existence) and "secondary" techniques (which involve "merely" the investigation of social awareness), but only techniques (and methods) that are adequate or inadequate to the subject matter being researched. How this subject matter is represented by the human subjects and the activities and relationships between them, and how the objective social existence is not social if it is not conscious, while awareness is not real and authentic either if it does not reflect the existence and active influence of the social fabric, produces the result that the segmentation and hierarchical listing (in principal and secondary ones) of investigative techniques into the affairs of the human collective (which is a dialectical unity between the objective and the subjective, and a naturalsocial existence and social-human awareness) are at least artificial and inoperative. All serious sociological and psycho-sociological research proves this, including the already-mentioned volume "The Human Development of Enterprises," whose first chapter is significantly entitled: "The Contribution of Sociology and Psycho-sociology to the Human Development of Enterprises;" or the book, "The Analysis and Prediction of Human Performances," by Ionel Dorofte, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981.
- 7. In the article "Cedars Without Thorns" from the group that appeared under the title "Literature and the Politician" in STEAUA (No 5/1981), Achim Mihu presented pertinent findings and stated a significant question: "Under the conditions in which the socio-human sciences have remained behind the spirit of the politician, nearly suffocated by complex circumstances and bowing to dogmatism, literature became the most faithful expression of new policies. More than anything else the

situation appeared where the representatives (it would be better to say the officials) of the socio-human sciences not only delighted in the rose-colored world, but also reacted nervously regarding the courage of literature... What will happened, however, with literature in the case when those in the socio-human sciences rid themselves of the mistakes of dogmatism and become daring to the degree of the essential meaning of Marxist ideology, presenting realities with a natural courage from over the recent decades, as well as the realities of today?" (p 17). And, other participant in the discussions noted with good reason: "Even for the historical periods that have just passed, the novels that made "discoveries" and conducted "discussions" can no longer forever replace objective historical-social studies, realistic reporting, documents and testimony, and deep philosophical analysis" (p 15).

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BRIEFS

ALBA IULIA AUXILIARY BISHOP--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the priest Ludovic Balint is recognized in the position of auxiliary bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Alba Iulia. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 63, 31 Aug 81 p 2]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Pinzaru is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine-building industry. Comrade Ilarie Munteanu is appointed deputy minister of the machine-building industry. Comrade Vasile Chivulescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials. Comrade Vasile Baltac is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-building Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 64, 1 Sep 81 p 4]

MINISTERIAL CHANGES—The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Pretor Popa is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Gheorghe Ciolanescu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry and chief of the Department of State Agriculture. Comrade Mihai Arghir is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. Comrade Mihail Tenea is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee and appointed deputy minister and director general of the General Directorate for Constructions and Installations in the Department for Foreign Constructions. Comrade Ion Militaru is appointed deputy minister in the Department for Foreign Constructions [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 3 Sep 81 p 3]

FOREIGN TRADE BANK CHIEF--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Vasile Voloseniuc is relieved of his position as chairman of the Administrative Council of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade. Comrade Nicolae Eremia is appointed chairman of the Administrative Council of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 67, 7 Sep 81 p 2]

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